342 The stone or earth-
en floor may be sprinkled for instance with coral beachsand to help in sweeping it.

[356] In some primitive houses, where the cattle still had their places, in the
[231] low end, I have found a gutter or conduit going across the low end and leading out through the door.

333 *The walls.* There are two main types of wall construction representing very
342 old building traditions.

[172] 1. The dry stone walls, *fallaí fuara* — met with in the prehistoric buildings, *clochánsa* etc. — are built of stones (often flattish) without mortar. Dwelling-houses which have been built with dry stone walls have in later times been covered both inside and outside with mortar, pl. XLIII: 1. The space between the bigger stones are often carefully filled up by small stones, *spallaí.*

Especially in Co. Clare I have admired the precision developed in the construction of the walls.

● [172] 2. Of prehistoric origin are also the mud, clod or clay walls, *falla feidín.* A fantastic explanation of the term makes it equal to *falla ar feadh dín,* a wall that endures as long as the roof is kept properly thatched (Dinneen).

The clay was pulverized and made into a thick mortar by wetting it and mixing it with cut rushes or course sprat hay. The well built mud-wall houses form comfortable dwellings and it has happened that people have regretted leaving excellent thatched "mud walls" to live in cold stone-walled slatted dwellings.

342 The foundation of the walls is sometimes a pronunced feature of the house. Whilst the walls usually have a width of 1½, 2 or 3 feet, the foundation is wider, forming a shelf or broad step along the building serving as a pathway to the door. The foundation is sometimes not very dissimilar to some prehistoric house-foundations. In this connection I would like to remark that the pathway and nearest surroundings of the entrance door are sometimes
[197] paved by a mosaic of small cobble-stones from the sea-shore. This I have seen in costal districts in South West, and I suggest that it is the same kind of pavement as appears in Portugal, Madeira, Marocco and elsewhere at the border of the Atlantic And the Mediterranean Sea.

Doors and windows. In many primitive houses of to-day the construction of the door-opening is extremely archaic: flat stones serving as lintel and as threshold. The frame of the door is wooden.

The doors usually have bolts of wood and a hasp to close the door. A thick wooden beam can be placed across inside the door on stormy nights, certain holes in the wall at both sides of the door being made for this beam,

3: Campbell B, E-5 (1934-1935) 1938 ER6 Rural Irish ER6

NOTES ON THE IRISH HOUSE. II.

BY ÅKE CAMPBELL, UPPSALA

341 In the Ireland of today there exist not only buildings of a more developed stage of construction, *i. e.* stone-built or mud houses with roofs resting on wooden couples[1] but also buildings of very archaic or of extremely simplified or primitive construction. The stone beehive huts, roofed by a [172] system of overlapping stones and some oval or oblong houses are identical with or closely linked with prehistoric house-types. The huts of wickerwork, sod and turf, on the other hand, represent very simple house-types, of which not all can with certainty be characterized as archaic, but rather as imitations in a simplified form of advanced house-types, or as simple temporary structures, or solutions of individual building problems often due to poverty or lack of better building material.

These groups of buildings offer possibilities of very wide, but at the same time very vague, comparisons throughout the fields of archæological, historic literary and ethnological facts.

341 Ireland's cultural position is of great interest, whether Ireland be looked 171 upon as a relic-zone where many culture-elements still persist after they have become extinct in Continental Europe, or whether it be supposed to constitute a critical point in the Atlantic intercepting the different streams of culture flowing from North, South, and East.[2]

There are features common to Irish and Scandinavian archaic or primitive buildings, to Irish and Spanish-Portuguese buildings or to Irish and English buildings, but it would be premature to come to any decision about the origin of these features until the whole area of their distribution has been surveyed. Adapting T. J. Westropp's words about the ancient Irish "Forts" I would say: The key to the origin of the Irish house-types lies as much in a comparison with cognate buildings over the rest of Europe as in the native Irish records.

As it is not possible to arrive at any definite conclusions until investigations have been made on a broader basis, I must content myself here with pointing out some types of buildings and some problems which seem to me to be of certain importance.

3: Campbell B, E-5 (1934-1935) 1938 ER6 Rural Irish ER6

The clochán type with domed roof.

172 342 The clochán, or stone bee-hive hut, no doubt represents a very old stage of house-tradition (pl. 29,a—32), although it can be studied from material still existing and, in some cases, still in use in Ireland today (pl. 33, a, b). As it represents a prehistoric type of building, investigations of the Irish clochán and other types of bee-hive, oval or oblong houses from the Iron Age and later times become of immediate interest for the study of recent Irish house-traditions.

A comparison between the common Irish (developed) houses of today and the clochán (prehistoric or of later date) may give the impression that there is a gap between them that cannot be bridged. Nevertheless the clochán-type constitutes a very suitable starting point for discussion of the recent Irish peasant houses and their history. There are indeed some significant parallels from various countries and different periods, which help to illuminate the problem here in question. In particular I would like to draw [171] attention to the Scottish bee-hive house but also to the black house *(bothán, aridhean, tigh dubh)*, to the remains of circular and roughly oblong huts of stone in other parts of the Brittish Isles, *e. g.* in Carnarvon, Wales, and to the very similar settlements in Spain and Portugal,[3] and in Italy and Greece. In Scandinavia, such settlements and forts as have been excavated in Denmark, Norway and the Swedish provinces of Öland and Gotland must be considered as parallels to the West European material here mentioned.

Descriptions of Irish clochán can be found in several archæological works. I quote here some descriptions given by Macalister:[4]

"A clochán was built in this manner. A space of the size and shape intended was marked out on the ground with loose stones. Usually the plan was circular or oval, but sometimes the building is circular outside and square within. Above these stones another course was laid, slightly oversailing the course below. A third course overhung the second, and so on; the walls being made thick enough, as they rose, to secure stability. At last the sides of the building approximated together so that the hole in the top of the chamber could be closed with a single flag-stone or with two or more such stones. No mortar of any kind was needed or used, though the outer surface may have been covered with sods or some protection to keep out the rain. As a rule the stones of which the building was composed were laid not quite horizontal, but were sloped outward, so as to shed off rain-water to the outside of the building."

The most famous remains of clochán are perhaps the six bee-hive cells at

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P 177---Analyst]

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PLATE 29.

a. Clochán (beehive hut). Fahan, Dingle, Co. Kerry. Note to the left in back-ground a very large clochán which has collapsed. The remains of several other collapsed clochán are inside same *caiseal*, (circular wall enclosing a group of buildings, huts, etc.).

b. Clochán inside a cashel. Fahan, Dingle, Co. Kerry.

3: Campbell B, E-5 (1934-1935) 1938 ER6 Rural Irish ER6

172
342

a

b

[p. 175]
[captions on p. 174]

3: Campbell B, E-5 (1934-1935) 1938 ER6 Rural Irish ER6

PLATE 30

172
342

a

b

[p. 176]
[captions on p. 177]

3: Campbell B, E-5 (1934-1935) 1938 ER6 Rural Irish ER6
County Kerry

Skellig Michael, Co. Kerry, and the so called "City of Fahan", which probably includes the largest number of buildings of this kind (pl. 29, 30,b).[3] But no investigation has been made — as far as I know — of round stone huts in Ireland built and inhabited in later times. Such investigation has, however, been made on the Scottish Islands by F. L. W. Thomas.[4] It is evident that the bee-hive huts (*both*) of Lewis described by Thomas, are very close to or identical with the Irish clochàns, and represent the same building traditions. This also agrees with the accounts of Irish cabins in the literature.[5] I will confine myself here to two descriptions made by Thomas and published in 1860 and in 1869, both dealing with stone bee-hive huts built in late times and used as dwellings. As these descriptions are inaccessible to most readers I must quote them at some length.

The normal and, Thomas presumes, most modern form of bee-hive house (in the middle of the 19th century) is "an irregular circle, six or seven feet in diameter, the walls rising perpendicularly for three feet; each successive course of stone then overlaps or projects beyond the one below, and then the roof gradually closes in and takes a beehive form. — — — A hole, called the *Farlos (farleus,* a skylight), is left in the apex of the roof for the escape of the smoke, and is closed with a turf or flat stone as requisite. (See pl. 34,c). There are two doors, 2½ feet high and 2 feet broad, and they are placed so that a line joining them cuts off on one side about two thirds of the enclosed area. The two doors are a decided improvement, for that one upon the side on which the wind blows — that is, the weather door — is closed with a stone or turf, while the lee one is left open, and a gentle draught carries the smoke serenely above the head of the inhabitants and through the Farlos. From door to door a row of flat stones, a few inches in height, forms the bench or seat, *being*, and behind this the area is filled up with hay or rushes for a bed. I had a native estimate of its capacity, and found it calculated to hold three people. In front of the bench, and midway between the two doors, is the fire — of peat of course, and not much needed except for cooking. Above the fire, a longish stone draws in and out of the wall for the purpose of hanging a pot on, and in nearly every ruin did we find this primitive instrument in its place, shoved back into the wall."[6]

With the investigations made by Thomas in 1857 and later, the *clochán* as an inhabited living dwelling is brought within the horizon of the study of today. In the following example which is taken from Thomas' description, this house-type of a prehistoric time is allied with a late innovation, namely the stone-built chimney, which in the course of the 19th century seems to

PLATE 30.
a. Clochán na Carraighe. Inishmore, Aran Islands, Co. Galway.
b. Clochán. Fahan, Co. Kerry.

3: Campbell B, E-5 (1934-1935) 1938 ER6 Rural Irish ER6

Finally, I will draw attention to the stone-built sheepfolds and other shelters and fences for the cattle, the study of which cannot be separated from the study of the primitive houseforms. Of particular interest to the Irish material of that kind is the material published by Daniel Bruun,[19] Mårten Stenberger[20] and other authors. J. Nihlén and G. Boëthius[21] reproduce in connection with this, some stone walls from the Aran Islands.

231 349

A glance at the literary material.

The archaeologists, as has already been mentioned, have studied the stone-built bee-hive houses, but from them we have not many references to houses built of other material, although such houses must naturally have existed. Remarkable is the settlement in Canowheel Mountain, Sligo, consisting of 47 circular walls enclosing spaces of from 20 to 42 feet in diameter. "These were probably protection walls erected to shield from weather huts erected within them and made of flimsier materials."[22]

172 174

In Ireland, there can have existed a millennial tradition of building houses not only with dry stone walls, *fallaí fuara*, as in the stone-built *clochán*s, but also with walls of mud or clods, *fallaí feidin*, and of *fraigh, i. e.* panel of mud and wattle or lath and plaster construction. The word *fraigh* occurs in some ancient proverbs and phrases signifying the actual wall of the house.[23] In the ancient Irish laws, the word is used for walls of houses. Beyond doubt, *fraigh* means, if Dinneen's interpretation holds, the same wall construction as has been used in Southern Scandinavia and the neighbouring parts of the Continent, from prehistoric times down to the last century.

Although the very comprehensive and learned work of Eugene O'Curry[24] has a number of references to the buildings of the Ancient Irish, it is not easy to gather from them the exact constructional details, nor to decide whether O'Curry has drawn the right conclusions from the terminology in the Laws and the literature. I will not here discuss O'Curry's description, as I am not in a position either to check his conclusions or compare them with the archæological remains or present day habitations regarding the constructional details here in question. I only sum up some remarks from O'Curry that will be useful for further discussion.

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O'Curry says that ancient habitations were of the simplest character and constructed of wood or, where wood was scarce, of mud. The wooden houses however were made either of wicker-work, or of unhewn, or at best roughly hewn trees, the crevices being filled by mud. (I would suggest that

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7:Johnson K-4 (no date) 1958
ER6 Rural Irish ER6

survivals of the infield-outfield system in the remoter parts of Ireland would seem to suggest that it dates from a time much earlier than that of the Norman invasion.

Lines of Investigation

These questions and theories widen the field for speculation, but it is difficult to see where to turn for further information, largely because of the meager documentary evidence that survives in Ireland from periods earlier than the eighteenth century. Admittedly, relevant material may be discovered among estate papers, but there are three other lines that might be followed with profit.

One possible approach, field investigation, is illustrated by a project now under way, in which archeological techniques are being used to excavate a clachan in County Down, inhabited until the late nineteenth century. The primary aim is to discover how this particular clachan originated. Did it grow out of a single farm, and, if so, at what date? Two seasons' work has now been completed without conclusive answers to these questions, though some details have been added to the local economic history of County Down.[26] At least it has been shown that a clachan settlement stood on this site about 1780 and that the site had been occupied from sometime near the end of the fifteenth century, if not earlier. Buildings were found underlying the nineteenth-century structures. The fact that some of these remains appear to date from a time before the immigration of Scottish and English settlers into the area in the early seventeenth century should prove important in the study of Irish house types, since the lack of evidence on the development of settlement patterns extends also to the history of individual farm buildings.[27]

Whether this particular excavation will yield further information about

[26] J. H. Johnson, V. B. Proudfoot, and R. H. Buchanan: Excavations at Minerstown, Co. Down: Preliminary Report on Work Completed in 1956, *Ulster Journ. of Archaeol.*, Ser. 3, Vol. 21, 1958. (In press.)

[27] Pioneer work on surviving house types was carried out by A. Campbell (Irish Fields and Houses: A Study of Rural Culture, *Béaloideas*, Vol. 5, 1935, pp. 57–74; Notes on the Irish House, *Folklív*, Vol. 1, 1937, pp. 207–234, and Vol. 2, 1938, pp. 173–196). This has been developed in a series of local studies, so that a comprehensive account of the surviving forms of Irish traditional building is becoming increasingly possible. The best and most recent general account is E. E. Evans' "Irish Folk Ways" (London, 1957; with an extensive bibliography), Chapters 4 and 5. Several important articles on house types and related topics have appeared recently; for example, C. Ó Danachair: Irish Farmyard Types, *Arctica: Studia Ethnographia Upsaliensis No. 11*, 1956, pp. 6–15; A. T. Lucas: Wattle and Straw-Mat Doors in Ireland, *ibid.*, pp. 16–35; C. Ó Danachair: Stand und Aufgaben der Hausforschung in Irland, *Bericht über die Arbeitstagung des Arbeitskreises für Deutsche Hausforschung*, Schleswig, 1955, pp. 29–50; R. H. Buchanan: Thatch and Thatching in North-East Ireland, *Guerin*, Vol. 1, 1956–1957, pp. 123–142; and C. Ó Danachair: The Bed Out-Shot in Ireland, *Folklív*, Vols. 19–20, 1955–1956, pp. 26–31.

7:Johnson K-4 (no date) 1958
ER6 Rural Irish ER6

settlement patterns is somewhat doubtful. There is a reasonable chance of eventual discovery of the origin of settlement on this site, but from the beginning it was realized that only by good fortune would the relation of the clachan to other settlement forms, in particular the Irish raths, be uncovered. However, since relatively little of a substantive nature is known about Irish peasant life until as late as the end of the eighteenth century, any information on the material culture of the inhabitants of this site will be of value. There does not seem to be great hope of uncovering any field systems that may have surrounded the settlement, but similar work elsewhere might be more fortunate.

Place-name evidence provides a second, if somewhat tentative, line of investigation. For instance, J. B. Arthurs has suggested that *baile* (bally), the Gaelic word for home place or townland, may be of pre-Goidelic origin, and that where "ballys" are numerous, indigenous people had been left mainly undisturbed by the Goidelic expansion.[28] If this can be firmly established, it will immediately suggest a parallel with the possible dual system of landholding previously mentioned, particularly since the names of many surviving clachans contain the element "bally." Certainly there is need for further research on this topic.

Aerial photography offers a third line. Irish archeologists have long been aware of its importance[29] and have illustrated excavation reports with photographs taken from the air; but, except locally, this method has not yet been employed systematically in the study of Irish rural settlement. If suitable photographs were available, it is likely that they would illuminate the history of fields and farms in Ireland. At the least a detailed study of the available air photographs would guide further field work on the ground.

Disappearance of the Old System

Such methods of investigation can only hope to produce a few clues in what must be an exercise in detection; and, in a sense, it is some relief to find that the factors involved in the final disappearance of the infield-outfield system and its associated settlement pattern are somewhat clearer than the earlier history of these features. The regional details, however, still remain obscure, since the enclosure of the open fields in Ireland required no parlia-

[28] Quoted in Evans, Irish Folk Ways [see preceding footnote], p. 27.

[29] D. A. Chart: Air-Photography in Northern Ireland, *Antiquity*, Vol. 4, 1930, pp. 453–459; J. Raftery: Air-Photography and Archaeology, *Journ. Royal Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Vol. 74, 1944, pp. 119–123. Proudfoot (Settlement and Economy in Co. Down [see footnote 18 above]) used air photographs in his study of County Down, as did the government-sponsored archeological survey of the same county.

9: Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1942
ER6 Rural Irish ER6

137 Birch and hazel are the next vegetation recorded, then the pine spread rapidly to give way to oak and alder as the climate grew warmer. The oldest layers of turf in the deep bogs grew round the stumps of this oak forest, following the sinking of the land and the consequent bad drainage accompanying a stormy period which lasted from about 5000 to 2500 years B.C. To this climatic phase the term "Atlantic" is applied. There followed a warm dry period, called the sub-Boreal, which came to an end about the middle of the last millennium B.C.; it was during this phase that the Irish forests reached their greatest development, when oak, birch, alder, hazel and pine spread right to the western coasts and high up the mountain sides. It is estimated that the rainfall in the west was only half its present quantity and that the westerly winds were weak. When the storms returned the climate became cooler and even wetter than it is to-day, and during this "sub-Atlantic" period the western forests were submerged in extensive bogs to give the landscape its familiar barren appearance. Everywhere this dark age of storms, from about 500 B.C. to 100 B.C., was a time of maximum peat formation, layer upon layer of spongy vegetation, cotton grass, bog rush and sphagnum moss, accumulating in the hollows of the plain and on the mountain slopes. Thereafter there have been fluctuations when pine forests spread repeatedly on dried bog surfaces only to be swamped in succeeding wet phases, and in the end the pines disappeared from Ireland, leaving their resinous bog timber as a gift from the past to the treeless present. Not only timber but all organic matter such as bone, leather and even textiles and human bodies are wonderfully preserved by bog acid. Pl. 1.

● 172 Archæology tells us that man[1] first crossed the narrow seas from Scotland when the land stood higher before the "Atlantic" submergence. Hemmed in by the forest he clung to the beaches under the flint-bearing chalk cliffs of

[1] "Mesolithic" man. The term (Middle Stone Age) embraces the period from *c.* 7000-2500 B.C. falling between the Palæolithic (Old Stone) and the Neolithic (New Stone) Ages. Man's first appearance in Ireland is probably to be dated about 5000 B.C.

9: Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1942
ER6 Rural Irish ER6

● 172 Antrim, and excavation in the beaches at Larne and elsewhere has revealed the tools at depths which show that he remained in the area throughout the beach-forming Atlantic period. Some have conjectured that his flint knives and choppers were used for wood-working and boat-building. When fishing failed he had recourse to shell-fish, for the warm seas which replaced the Arctic waters had brought great quantities of edible molluscs to our shores. From the beginning, then, the north-east, the region of the Loughs, was the bridgehead by which overseas movements reached Ireland.

When at length, perhaps under pressure from further incursions from Scotland, the coast-dwellers moved on, it was in the Bann valley, by Lough Neagh and other rivers and lakes that they settled down; and on coastal sites, near the river mouths that the salmon seek, we find, buried in sand, the relics of their "kitchen middens." In places such as the caves at Ballintoy, Co. Antrim, fisherfolk and shell-gatherers continued to cling to their old life century after century, and there can be little doubt, as anthropological research is beginning to show, that the racial characters of these original Irishmen survive in many a coastal area to this day. Readers are referred to papers by Professor T. Walmsley and J. M. Mogey in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*. The results of a wider survey conducted by the Harvard University Mission to Ireland are awaited.

By low watersheds and lakes the fisherfolk seem to have found their way to the Barrow, to the Shannon and the teeming Corrib of Galway, so that the four provinces of Ireland have a substratum of the oldest stocks in the population. It is tempting to think of the Irish curraghs (Chapter 16) as a relic of this culture: they were covered with hide until recently, and it is noteworthy that even in Lough Neagh, where [396] the curragh has not been recorded in historic times, the fishermen speak of giving their boats a new "hide" when they repair them. Wooden foot traps for catching deer (the so-called otter-traps) which have been found in the bogs and which are figured on some of the Celtic crosses, are presumably

9: Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1942
ER6 Rural Irish ER6

another heritage of the Mesolithic. Research will probably show that many details of material culture as well as a substantial element in the racial composition of the Irish people derive from the Mesolithic background, which has been termed " the main vital period in the setting out of the human map of Europe."

Left to themselves, however, it is unlikely that these fisherfolk, specialized as they were in the arts and crafts of food-gathering, would have advanced to the full status of civilisation. If our eyes were fixed on Ireland alone we should be unable to account for the origin of Irish agriculture and stock-raising, for the crops and animals that came to be used are not found in the native flora and fauna. It was from distant western Asia, by way of the seas and islands of the Mediterranean and the western peninsulas of Europe that the new ideas found their way to Ireland. And although the food-gatherers and fisherfolk had blazed the trail, it was a revolution in food production that now brought with it the elements of true civilisation. To it the term Neolithic (new stone) Revolution is applied.

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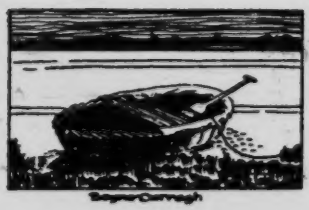

Fig. 4.

9: Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1942
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CHAPTER IV.

THE WORK OF MAN: CROPS AND ANIMALS.

● 172 It was probably a century or two before 2000 B.C. that the first farmers reached the Irish shores and began, however slowly, the moulding of the landscape with their tools of cultivation and their hungry animals. They brought with them not only crops and beasts from the sunny south, but new and strange gods endowed with magic powers. It has been conjectured that many of the old food-gatherers were held in subjection and forced to pay tribute in fish to the new masters. Certainly great salmon rivers like the Bann continued to be well settled, and the present eel-weir at Toome, with its wattled lanes, probably had a not very different forerunner on the same site in prehistoric days. Excavation has shown that the tanged flint flakes, of which hundreds of thousands are found along the Bann, were employed as the prongs of fish spears, and the hearths where the catches were smoked and dried have been unearthed.

Two innovations in such excavated sites betray the influence of our newcomers: they are the use of the polished stone axe and the manufacture of pottery. It is the former that gives its name to the New Stone (Neolithic) Age, while the use of pottery is the hallmark of a certain stage of culture and domestic industry. It has been suggested that the art of shaping stone tools by grinding and polishing arose, in the sandy soils of south-western Asia, through observing the wear

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9: Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1942
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●172 on stones used as hoes for cultivation. We have direct evidence that some form of agriculture was practised at this time in Ireland, about forty centuries ago, and it is here that the foundations of Ireland's peasant culture must be sought. Some scholars have argued that a simple wooden plough reached Atlantic Europe not long afterwards from the Mediterranean, but the digging stick was probably the main cultivating tool: the digging tradition has remained all-powerful in Ireland, and even to-day the narrow Irish spade or loy (Chapter 13) is little more than an iron-shod digging stick.

Fig. 5.
Fashions in Pots.

Communal tombs of great stones built by these bringers of civilisation—the giants' graves of the countryfolk and the megalithic monuments of the archæologists—tell us a great deal, from their distribution and their contents, of the areas occupied and the beliefs held by the first Irish farmers. Glacial sands and limestone exposures attracted them on account of their easily-worked soils and natural clearings, while the thin soils and therefore light forest-cover of the hill-slopes and plateaux drew them by stages into all the scattered mountains from Wicklow to Kerry and from Antrim to Donegal. The discovery of grains of wheat and of saddle-querns for grinding corn, as well as countless sherds of hand-made pottery, show that they were settled farmers: their large round-bottomed pots, often provided with holes or lugs for suspension over the fire, are plausible forerunners of the common iron "pots" which are indispensible in every farm and cottage to-day. It should be borne in mind that the sub-boreal period (Chapter 3), from which this culture dates, was a time of warm dry climate, so that settlement and cultivation of wheat and probably barley were possible at elevations where they would now be difficult if not impracticable.

Bone-finds tell us that the Irishman's oldest animals were the pig and the ox. By analogy with other parts of northern Europe we should expect the earlier folk of the Mesolithic to have possessed the dog, though there is no clear proof of this. The horse, the goat and the sheep were perhaps

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introduced in the Bronze Age, while the ass, which one might suppose to be long-established, was in fact hardly known before the 19th century. The wolf was the worst enemy of man's domestic animals: it was not finally exterminated until the end of the 18th century. Neither the Giant Deer nor the wild boar can be proved to have survived so long as to be contemporaneous with man. But there was a rich native fauna which could be hunted for food to supplement the products of crops and livestock. The red deer is still with us and was known in a wild state in the west of Ireland down to a century ago. Charcoal examined from the remains of domestic and ritual fires corroborates the evidence of pollen-analysis as to the forest cover of prehistoric Ireland. The common trees were oak, willow, birch and hazel, with ash, elm, alder and pine less widely distributed.

The beliefs and ritual practices of the megalith-builders were closely bound up with ideas of magic and fertility: the great stone monuments themselves, still standing after 4,000 years, seem to symbolize man's faith in a future life and were the outcome of the revolution of thought which accompanied food-production. No visitor can fail to be deeply moved by the splendour of the great chamber at New Grange on the Boyne, or by the mystery of the windy cairn on Knocknarea above Sligo. The two main entrances used by the megalith builders were the Boyne Valley and Carlingford Lough (whence archæologists speak of the Boyne and Carlingford cultures). These cultures show many interesting differences and no doubt contributed to the enduring distinction between North and South in matters of material folk-culture.

New crops and animals continued to reach Ireland during the 1,500 years of the Bronze Age (1800-300 B.C.), when the islanders engaged in active trade, exporting the gold of the Wicklows in the form of dress-ornaments and elaborating their tools and implements of bronze, using native copper and imported tin. Archæologists and philologists cannot yet agree as to the period when the Celtic language was introduced to Ireland, nor can the Pictish tongue be identified with any clearly recognized culture. All are agreed, however, that

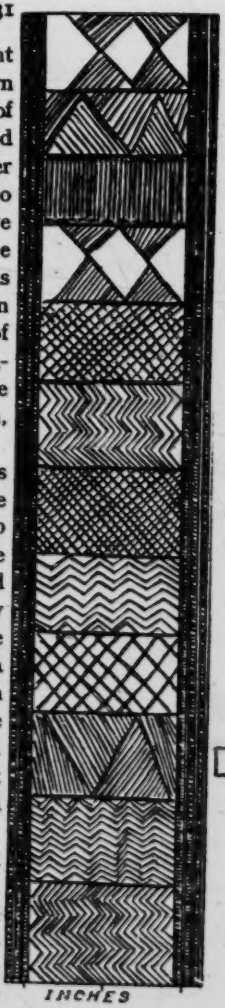

Fig. 6.
Ornament on bronze age pottery vessel from Co. Tyrone, date *c.* 700 B.C.

[184]

9: Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1942
ER6 Rural Irish ER6

● 172 the Celtic tongue was imported by warlike overlords or "planters" somewhere within the limits of the Bronze Age, and that it was accompanied by the infiltration of ideas and customs that have their ultimate origin in central Europe and therefore represent a culture-pattern differing from the pre-existing "Atlantic" civilisation. But archæology teaches us that the older background was strong enough to survive and mould the new into characteristic Irish forms: even the virile curvilinear "La Tène" art style of the Early Iron Age, which entered Ireland by the north-eastern "bridgehead," was soon changed into new designs which the expert can at once recognize as "Irish" (Fig. 7). In peasant culture the continuity is incontrovertible.

But great changes were meanwhile taking place in the climate and natural landscape, and corresponding adaptations had to be made in Irish life. The onset of a cold stormy period not far from 500 B.C. forced man to move downhill and to concentrate on the drier lowlands, while on plateau and plain alike the old forests went down under layer after layer of wet bogland. When the veil is half lifted in the twilight of the Celtic Annals ten domesticated creatures are mentioned: kine, swine, horses, sheep, goats, dogs, cats, hens, geese and bees. To-day the only important additions would be the ass, the turkey and the duck. There are many signs that during the bad climate of sub-Atlantic times (say 500 B.C.-100 B.C.) cattle assumed the preponderating place in peasant economy which they have since maintained. It was their grazing, and the nibbling of the accompanying goats, which caused the great decline in the indigenous woodlands long before the forest remnants were destroyed by the English. The old custom of putting a goat with a herd of cows is perhaps a [231] survival of former practice, for the goats would have kept down tree-growth and so prepared pasture for the cattle.

But it must be insisted that the theoretical nomadism of the Celtic period finds little support in archæology: the 28,000 surviving earthworks known as "raths"—the sites of villages and cattle-enclosures—testify to the settled life of the dark

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 34--ANALYST]

9: Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1942
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TWO VIEWS OF LEGANANNY "DOLMEN"

CO. DOWN

[Facing p. 32]

9: Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1942
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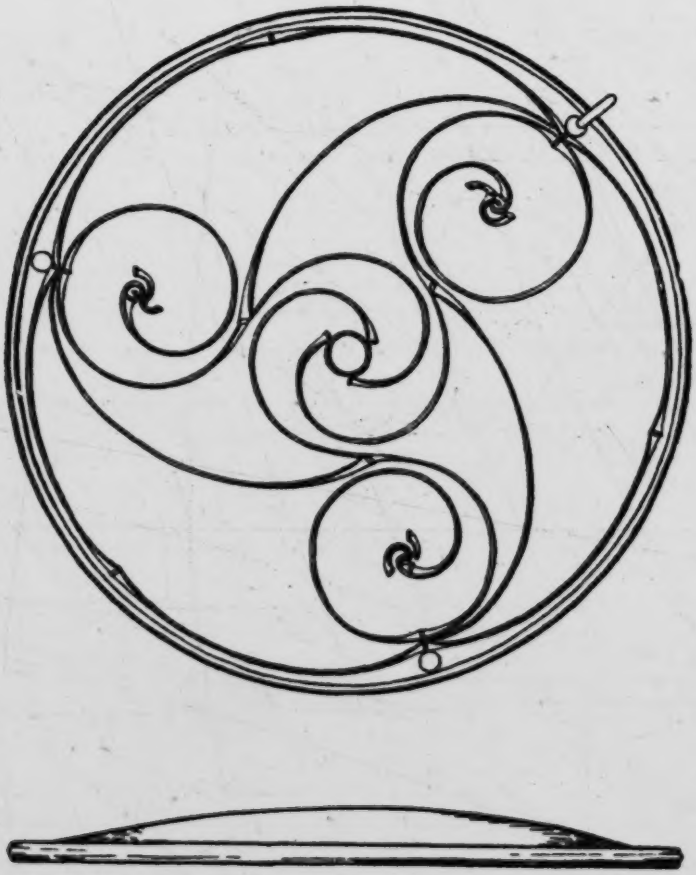

Fig. 7. Bronze disc of the Early Iron Age, from River Bann, date approx. 300 A.D.

[p. 33]

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9: Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1942
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172 ages. It was probably in the late Bronze Age that oats, introduced perhaps from Spain, found their place as the leading corn-crop of Ireland and Highland Britain, better adapted than wheat to the damp conditions. The working of " bog iron-ore "—found in concretions in swampy places—is attested from the early Iron Age, and the traditions of the country smith have their origins in this period. Man's attack on the woodlands was accelerated with the possession of iron axes and adzes. We are not able to say how far Roman culture and novelties influenced the pattern of Irish life. Was poultry their contribution, and what of the cabbage, the only common Irish vegetable before the potato came in? Nor must we omit the contributions of the continental contacts maintained throughout the early Christian period, above all in improved architecture and the fine arts as well as in traditions of gardening and orchard-planting. Their influence can be seen, no doubt, in the relatively high standards of living and cultivation around places like Armagh. And it is to the early Christians and the Vikings that Ireland owes its earliest cities. From the Vikings, too, much was borrowed in matters of boat-building and metal-working. Since Norman times the contacts with Britain have steadily increased.

175 244 But we have yet to record the import of most significance for Irish peasant life—the introduction of the potato from the New World. The part that this crop has played in the social history of the island is a subject which calls for full investigation. While it gave bulky yields as food for man and beast, its cultivation brought about a decline in crops such as rye and beans. Thriving on a minimum of attention, its social influence has not been altogether for good: its effects on native habits might be compared with those of another New World crop, maize, in southern Europe and Africa. Ripening underground, potatoes had a great advantage over corn in the wet and windy climate of the west. Moreover the crop was less easy to pillage: "even the soldiers could not extirpate them." By the middle of the 17th century the newcomer was well established in Ireland.

9: Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1942
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235 considered that the abundance of wild white clover, on the seeds of which chickens and young turkeys feed, was another contributory factor. Of the goat it can be said that it is often
231 the poor man's milk supply and supplements the cow on many small farms just as the ass replaces or supplements the horse. But the ass is in fact quite rare in many parts of the country, for example in Donegal, and is regarded with contempt, whereas the horse, as befits its important role since prehistoric times, is held in high regard and is kept by small farmers often as much for the sake of prestige as for its use. "If they have three acres," says a Government Report of last century, "they think they must have a horse." The strength and speed of the Irish race horse have been attributed to the bone-building qualities of limestone pastures: the great breeding and training ground is the morainic waste known as the Curragh of Kildare, but throughout the country there are many districts where, for geographical or historical reasons, horses of quality are bred for export and for the delight of the crowds at local race-meetings. Readers are referred to
[113] Dr. Dudley Stamp's *Agricultural Atlas of Ireland* (1931) for further information on agricultural distributions.

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Fig. 9. About 10 ft. high.

9: Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1942
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hedgerows. It is hard to realize that the close-set pattern of hedged or walled fields which now distinguishes so much of the countryside is for the most part only a century or so old. In many cases it can be shown that the fields and fences were laid out within the last hundred years, following the break-up of the rundale village system and the re-distribution of the land (Chapter 6). In the eastern lowlands, where English influence has long been at work, the field pattern and hedgerows are no doubt much older, but in general the small cultivated patches were separated by mere balks or waste strips, varying from one to ten feet in width. Stones from the fields, hand-picked or removed with crow-bar and slipe (Chapter 12) were dumped on the balks or, more frequently, piled into "cairns" in the middle of the fields. Such stone-heaps are often found accompanying prehistoric field-systems, for example in Jutland.

Fig. 10.

Stone walls or high earthen fences surrounded the house-clusters and enclosed each group of open fields, separating them from the common grazing land which lay outside and stretched away to the "head-ditch" on the mountain. As the rundale holdings gave way to individual farms the land was re-divided, the old ditches planted with whitethorn and new ditches, also set with thorn, were constructed—a process which was being actively carried out during the first half of the 19th century. One result of the scattering of the farms was the appearance of the long strip or "ladder farms," the cross hedges of the strip resembling the rungs of a ladder.

The oldest fences, then, are the protective banks around farms which occupy old village sites—a survival no doubt of the rings around the ancient raths—and the march-dykes or divisions between townlands. The varied vegetation on these older banks betrays them just as it does the pre-enclosure hedgerows in England: their massive tumbled ruins are overgrown with whins, blackthorn, sally, ash and bramble. There are, however, still older forgotten divisions on the hillsides dating from various prehistoric periods; some have

9: Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1942
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172 311 351 been discovered under many feet of peat. Several types can be recognized, for example those with upright stones at intervals, which are sometimes left as "standing stones" after the intervening walls have been removed. Old field fences at Cush, Co. Limerick, claimed to be contemporary with raths of the late Bronze Age and "essentially similar to those built by an Irish farmer of to-day" have been described by Professor O'Riordain. This appears to be a striking example of continuity, for the fences are closely followed by existing field-boundaries. Since they lie some 800 ft. above sea-level they do not invalidate the general picture I shall draw in the following chapter, but it is clear that much more work on the lines followed at Cush is required.

351 314 137 [231] Hedges of whins (that is, gorse or furze) about the farmstead are much prized not only for the shelter they afford to stock—they are dense and do not drip—but because they form an admirable clothes line on washing day and a ready source of kindling wood. Formerly the young whin shoots were crushed and fed to horses. The heavy wooden maul and stone block used in the process may still be seen occasionally. It would require years of enquiry and observation to describe and classify the types of sod ("scraw") earth and stone fences which now parcel out the Irish soil into its patchwork of small fields. One may easily recognize the sod ditches of the rich grazing lands of Meath, with their tall thorn hedges and ash trees giving shelter to the cattle, the well-built dry-stone walls of the granite mountain slopes which vainly seek to stop the black-faced sheep, and the loose lace-like walls precariously constructed out of rough boulders in the morainic hills.

351 311 137 In the wind-swept mountains and along the coasts the ditches are hedgeless, carrying only a tangle of heather or whins and an occasional stunted tree, but throughout the lowlands the prevailing type of fence is a stone-faced bank of sods, in the side of which quick-thorn is planted (Fig. 10). These are cut back ruthlessly at longish intervals and are never pleached in the English way, so that the hedge is full of gaps. Occasion-

9: Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1942
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kinds of construction are employed. Some districts use strong stone buildings—for example of the bee-hive style to be described below—others roofless rectangles of stone with one end open, and others again timber-posted structures with roofs and walls of many different materials. These supplies are generally supplemented by well-built turf-stacks, and it used to be the custom to build a great stack against the gable of the house, both for shelter and to keep the house warm. Turf-stacks were occasionally built hollow to serve as a pigsty. In the north of Ireland the pig is by no means universally kept, though most old homesteads have a building which once did duty as a sty, and in some parts of the country these are of bee-hive construction, so strongly built that they have defied the ravages of time.

Just as old practices live on as children's games, so certain ancient types of buildings have descended in the social scale in the course of history. The bee-hive corbelled huts and the corn-drying kilns are examples. Both are circular in plan and built of dry stones or stones and mud. In the Gaeltacht the bee-hive houses are used, from Mayo to Kerry, for storing milk or turf. They are made by overlapping the flat slabs of the walls until they meet at the top in a false dome—a style of building which, in its origin, long precedes the arch and is seen at its best in some of the oldest monuments of human industry in Ireland, the prehistoric chambered tombs of the Boyne valley. Not far from this metropolis of ancient culture, in the Carlingford Hills of north Louth, Mr. H. G. Tempest has shown me several corbelled huts, some of which are still used as pigsties, while in Lecale in Down there are many examples, both circular and square in plan, which have been used as pigsties and hen houses (Figs. 38 & 39). These are generally grouted on top and whitewashed, but those of Louth and the west may have a covering of earth which, growing a crop of grass and weeds, gives the little houses the appearance of natural hillocks. Similar pigsties are known in south-eastern Wales, and have been described by Dr. I. C. Peate in his book *The Welsh House*. Corbelled huts are also used as pigsties and poultry houses in Caithness and the Orkneys.

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(D). *Proportional Measurements.*—The proportional measurements are of some interest, as differing, in some respects, not only from those of the Aran Islanders, but also from the accepted canons, and from the proportions obtained by Quetelet, Gould, and others, in their investigations on several European peoples. The stature is taken as equaling 100.

FACE.

Here, as was observed to be the case last year, the proportion borne by the face to the height is very great, the total face-length being to the stature as 7·48 to 100 (the canon being 6·60).

Nose.—This is not very constant in its relations to the body-height, varying between 2·47 and 3·72, and giving an average of 3·30, nearly exactly that of the French canon. It may be stated that the proportion is less than three in only five instances, and out of the forty measured, one only is below 2·80.

UPPER LIMB.

Span.—This nearly corresponds with the average Irish proportion. In every case it is greater than the stature, but in one instance is very nearly equal to it. The average proportion is 104·95, thus testifying to the length of limb. The extremes were 100·72 and 109·14. The mean span of the Aran series was 101·94, and that of Gould's series of 827 Irish soldiers 104·6.

Hand.—This ranges between 10·76 and 12·08, but as a rule is slightly below the French canon of 11·50, the average being 11·33.

Forearm.—This section of the upper limb is subject to considerable variation. On the whole it is long, but not to so great a degree as in the case of the Aran Islanders, where it was 15·18, while here it is 15·03; this, with the greater proportion of the span to the stature, is probably due to the burlier build of the Bofin men.

(E). *Crania.*—In addition to the observations made on the living subject, the measurements of a series of crania, the first ever put on record from this island,[1] were obtained at St. Colman's Church, in Knock townland. As they could not be removed at the time of my first visit, I was forced to measure them on the spot, and, as it turned out afterwards, it was well that this precaution had been taken, as, on revisiting the place some time after, in the hope of being able to obtain some of them, I found that they had all disappeared, having in the meantime been removed to some place of concealment.

[1] Since this was written Professor A. C. Haddon has read before the Academy a Paper on some crania obtained by him from Inishbofin: *antea*, p. 311.

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The specimens, about twenty in number, were piled in a heap in a small recess near the east window, and were all in a very bad state of preservation, being much weathered from long exposure, in addition to which they had suffered such extensive mutilations that only eleven, all calvaria, were in a suitable condition to allow of measurement; the others were merely shattered fragments of the cranial bones, presenting no feature of interest except their thinness. 141 764 172

The following description of those examined is extracted from the entries made in my note-book at the time. 141

The specimens examined are very uniform in their characters, which are, in the main, as follows:— 172

Norma verticalis.—The cranial outline is a short but very even oval, sometimes showing an approach to the quadrate in form, as the frontal region is flattened, and the frontal and parietal eminences are well-marked.

Norma lateralis.—The profile rises almost perpendicularly to the culmination of the frontal eminences, as the glabella and superciliary ridges project very slightly, and the frontal sinuses are not large. The upper part of the curve sweeps evenly backwards, and dips down rather suddenly below the lambda, in some cases projecting again below.

Norma facialis.—The forehead is seen to be broad, but not of any great height, and the superior borders of the orbits are nearly level or but slightly curved.

The muscular markings, as the inion superior curved line, and mastoids, are in four cases (Nos. 1, 4, 6, and 11) strong; in all the others they are very slight.

The sutures are rather complex, and by the very considerable amount of obliteration they have undergone, would seem to have belonged to persons of rather advanced age.

Pterion.—In every instance this is of the H type, but in two cases it contains small epactals.

Indices.—The crania are, without exception, mesaticephalic, having a mean cephalic index of 77, with extremes of 75·5 and 79·2. The vertical index can only be obtained in three cases, owing to the extremely shattered state of the specimens. All are tapeino-cephalic, the figures being 70·5, 75·3, and 71·9. The auriculo-vertical height is obtainable only on the same crania as the basi-bregmatic.

Curves.—The longitudinal curves, measurable in five instances, in three of which the frontal arc exceeded the parietal, and, in all, it is greater than the occipital. The parietal arc exceeds the occipital in four cases, and is less than it in one.

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Description of Individual Crania:—

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(1). Calvarium of an adult male; very much weathered; of fair size. Glabella small, but frontal sinuses fairly large. Forehead high and perpendicular. Inion and superior curved line very lightly marked, but mastoid processes very large, and bulged outwards; digastric grooves deep. Sutures complex and much obliterated.

(2). Female (?), much broken and weathered. Sutures very complex, and obliteration advanced. Markings slight. Forehead perpendicular, and frontal sinuses small.

(3). Probably male, small and very much broken. Markings slight.

(4). Male, extensively mutilated, the whole cranial base being broken away. Forehead high and straight. Markings very strong, the inion being immense. Viewed in norma verticalis the outline is almost quadrangular.

(5). Calvarium undoubtedly female, with very slight markings. Straight forehead, and complex much obliterated sutures. Norma verticalis oval, with broadest part anterior.

(6). Male, with strong markings, mastoids being very large, and projecting laterally. Perpendicular but low forehead. Small frontal sinuses and projecting occiput. Norma verticalis almost quadrate. The meningeal vessels have grooved the bone very deeply.

(7). Probably female, small, with a regular oval outline. Glabella very small, and other markings slight, with the exception of the mastoid processes and frontal sinuses, which are rather large.

(8). Probably male. Shape, when viewed in norma verticalis, a blunt oval, approaching the quadrate. Markings slight, and frontal sinuses small. Occiput projects above, but is flattened off below the superior curved line. Sutures simple and unobliterated. Metopic suture persistent. Condition, very much broken.

(9). Female calvarium, very much shattered, the whole base being broken away. Shape, nearly quadrate. Forehead perpendicular, and glabella of medium size.

(10). Probably female. Specimen is very much weathered, and so shattered that two measurements only can be taken. There is a very peculiar pit, about the size of half a walnut, occupying the spot on which the inion ought to be situated. It is probably due to the pressure of a wen or tumour.

(11). Male (?) calvarium of regular oval form, with perpendicular forehead, and large glabella and superciliary ridges. Condition: this specimen consists only of a much weathered and broken cranial vault.

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NUMBER, ...	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
SEX, ...	M.	F. (?)	M. (?)	M.	F.	M.	F. (?)	M. (?)	F.	F. (?)	M. (?)
AGE, ...	AD.	AD.	AD.	AD.	AD.	AD.	AD.	AD.	AD.	AD.	AD.
Glabello-occipital length, .	193	188	178	192	184	192	178	186	178	178	188
Maximum breadth, . . .	148	146	141	146	142	148	136	143	138	138	142
Basi-bregmatic height, . .	136	140	w	w	w	w	128	w	w	w	w
Auriculo-bregmatic height, .	121	120	w	w	w	w	118	w	w	w	w
Minimum frontal breadth, .	90	96	82	94	100	102	90	99	w	w	w
Stephanic breadth, . . .	115	w	w	w	109	w	w	w	w	w	w
Asterionic breadth, . . .	w	113	w	w	111	w	w	w	w	w	w
Vertical transverse arc, . .	322	320	w	w	w	w	308	w	w	w	w
Frontal longitudinal arc, . .	w	w	130	125	w	w	w	130	118	w	128
Parietal longitudinal arc, .	w	w	115	133	w	w	w	129	123	w	120
Occipital longitudinal arc, .	w	w	120	123	w	w	w	109	95	w	117
Total longitudinal arc, . .	w	w	365	381	w	w	w	368	336	w	365
Foramen magnum length, .	36	35	w	w	w	w	31	w	w	w	w
Foramen magnum breadth, .	30	32	w	w	w	w	27	w	w	w	w
Horizontal circumference, .	540	529	w	540	521	w	w	532	w	w	w
INDICES.											
Cephalic, ...	76·7	77·2	79·2	76	77·2	77·1	76·4	76·9	77·5	77·5	75·5
Altitudinal, ...	70·5	75·3	w	w	w	w	71·9	w	w	w	w
Auriculo-vertical, . . .	62·7	63·8	w	w	w	w	66·3	w	w	w	w
Foraminal, ...	83·3	91·4	w	w	w	w	88·0	w	w	w	w

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or the influence of the evil-eye; and that she had been told by some of the people that they had seen little men, dressed in green, and headed by two others dressed in black, running over the hills. 776 [854]

In a recent Paper,[1] Professor A. C. Haddon gives the following:—"In Innisbofin, Co. Galway, the people have a very firm belief in fairies. Mr. Allies, who resides there, informed me that one old man told him that he saw a number of fairy girls, dressed in brown, around him one day when he (Mr. Allies) was shooting rabbits. Mr. Allies offered £50 if a fairy could be shown to him, and £100 if he took a photograph of one. Mr. Allies has not yet paid away any money. Mr. Allies and his brother were quarrying a rock by the side of the harbour, and at last the men refused to work at it any longer, as it was so full of 'good people' as to be hot."

It is remarkable that the leprachaun does not appear in any of the fairy tales of these islands, though the fir dearg figures largely in them.

1. *Customs.*—The old customs kept up here are said not to be numerous. Wakes and funeral observances have been already referred to (p. 352). Beltane-fires are lighted on St. John's Eve, round which the people gather, and, when the fire becomes low, they leap through the smoke over the embers. 372 796

The custom of chasing the wren on St. Stephen's Day, so common throughout the greater part of Ireland, is said not to be known here. [184]

There are two holy wells on the islands, one, Tober Flannain, in the graveyard close to Tempull Colman, in the townland of Knock, is reputed to have worked many marvellous cures; and the other, Tober Leo, on Inishshark, not far from the cloghan of the saint, is also of great local fame. 312 778 755

For the following note on Inishshark, I am indebted to Mr. Michael Lavelle:— 172

"There is yet shown a ruin called Cloghan Leo, in which he (St. Leo) is said to have dwelt; also fourteen stations, to each of which on certain days these people make a holiday, and pray there for the day. There is also a blessed well, called Thobar Leo, at which they pray; and after praying during the day, they go and sleep in the place mentioned above (Cloghan Leo), but it is now almost to the ground. 778 778

"On one of the stations is a granite stone which is hollowed out

[1] "A Batch of Irish Folk-Lore." Professor A. C. Haddon, *Folk-Lore*, vol. iv., p. 49.

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173 began to sink.[1] Suspecting that the bell was the cause of their misfortune, they threw it into the sea, and the ship was saved. Next morning, when some of the islanders were searching for sea-weed on the shore, they found the bell lying broken among the rocks. This [178] relic has long ago disappeared, having been cut up into pieces which were worn as amulets, most of which have been taken to America, but it is said that some are still kept as great treasures by some old people in Inishbofin, who refuse to show them to anyone.

Richard O'Flaherty, writing in 1684, makes mention of this bell ("H-Iar Connaught," p. 117) . . . "Inisark is of the same property with Bofin and the saint therein worshipped, St. Leo; of whose reliques is a bell there extant."

773 *St. Leo's Foot-print.*—There is pointed out an impression in the rock on which Cloghan Leo is built, which is said to be the imprint of 823 the saint's foot, and the people's explanation of how it came there is, that when he had finished building the cloghan he had to leap down, as he had no ladder, and alighting on the rock he left the print of his foot upon it, where it still remains.

173 There is a tradition on the islands of a large treasure of gold being hidden on Davillaun (a small island of the Bofin group), on which a large vessel of the Spanish Armada was wrecked, and some of the people claim to know exactly where it is. There are also many stories about Lord Nelson, under whom several men from these islands served, and wild tales of the old smugglers; and a very narrow passage between two dangerous rocks through which a daring smuggler once steered his vessel, and thus baffled his pursurers, is pointed out.

Archæology.

178 Though making no pretentions to being an archæologist, yet as an inquiry of this sort would be imperfect without, at least, a partial [172] description of the antiquities of the place, I hope that the notes hereunder given may, in some degree at least, supply the want.

1. *Survivals.*—In these the locality is comparatively rich, a good many old implements and methods of working, which have become extinct in other places, being still common. Such are the continuance of the use of plants and lichens as dyes, and some details of dress, such as the old blue cap, &c., which have been referred to before.

[1] One version of the story states that the ship had got as far as the Bay of Biscay!

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The spinning-wheel and hand-loom are the same as those commonly used on the west coast, the former, as usual, having no treadle. [172] [283]

Querns are still in use, and in connection with them the boran, or sieve of sheepskin stretched over a wicker frame, used for screening the meal. [252] [412]

Grain is still winnowed by shaking it in a sieve in a strong wind. [243]

The method of washing clothes is the same as that customary in Connemara, the clothes being folded, laid in the water of a lake or pool, and beaten with a club or paddle. [296]

The tailor, when making clothes, does not measure his customers with a tape, but takes all his measurements on one sheet of paper, marking the lengths by cutting notches out of the edge. [294]

The curraghs, which are still in use, are of the usual form; they are rapidly going out of fashion, however. [501]

The anchor used for small boats is a stone, not fixed in a wooden clamp, as in Clare and Aran, but having a groove around it for the rope.

As mentioned previously, the apparatus used for the shark-fishing is very rude and primitive.

2. *Antiquities.*— Inishbofin is not very rich in architectural antiquities, and the few that still remain are being rapidly destroyed; some ruins which were standing in the first half of the present century have altogether disappeared, and the others are much shattered. [172]

In Inishshark, also, the buildings have sustained a great injury.

It does not lie within my province to enter upon any detailed description of the ruins; but I desire, in the following notes (extracted almost *verbatim* from my Field Note-book), to direct the attention of archæologists to the buildings of interest in these islands which are being rapidly blotted out of existence. The number and nature of these have been described by the late Mr. O'Donovan, Mr. Hardiman, Mr. G. H. Kinahan, and others.

In the account of their present condition given below, they are arranged in the order in which they are described by Mr. Hardiman.[1]

Inishbofin.—(1). St. Colman's church, in Knock townland, built in A.D. 667, is in a very ruinous state, and the interior is filled with rough gravestones and weeds, and in a small recess near the east window is a pile of crania and broken bones. In the enclosure around the church the foundations of the cells (cloghans (?)) of the abbey, or monastic colony, may still be traced, though with difficulty, but the

[1] "H-Iar Connaught," p. 116, footnote.

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172 cells themselves, as well as parts of the church walls, have been pulled down to serve as gravestones, or to build the wall of the enclosure. In the immediate neighbourhood of the church, what is supposed to have been a font, has recently been discovered.

(2). Tober Flannain, close to the church, is now surrounded by a wall to keep the cattle away from it.

(3). *Ait tighe Guairim.*—The remains of the building which used to stand on this spot, said by some of the older people to have been of large size, have been cleared away to make room for the parish priest's residence.

(4). *Dun Graine*, which formerly stood on a large table-like rock a short distance from the entrance to the harbour, has entirely disappeared, and hardly even the traces of its foundations can be seen.

(5). *Dun-mor.*—No traces are now left of the earthen fort which formerly stood here.

(6). The castle or fort on Port Island, at the mouth of the harbour, known as Cromwell's, or Bosco's, castle. This was a small fortified barrack, consisting of a strong wall with four small bastions, enclosing a courtyard of no great size, which was bounded on three sides by buildings capable of lodging a small garrison, and containing a draw-well in the centre. It is daily becoming more ruinous from the exertions of the seekers after stones to burn for lime, who have knocked away all the corner-stones of blue limestone, with the exception of those of one angle which overhangs the sea, and have now extended the same work of demolition to the fine arched doorway. The walls of the inner buildings are also being torn down, to get at any limestones that may be in them, the draw-well has been filled up with rubbish, and a cowshed, constructed of stones torn from the walls, has been built up beside the entrance gate. If it were not for the great tenacity and hardness of the mortar it is hardly likely that any of the building would now remain.

[339]

Inishshark.—(1). *Teampull Leo.*—This old church is now restored, whitewashed, and slated, and is used as the place of worship on the occasions on which the island is visited by the priest.

(2). The stone cross, *Leac Leo*, is now mounted on the east gable of the church; it is said to have carved on one side of it a chalice, and on the other a human figure, supposed to represent a bishop, with hands extended.

10: Browne D-5 (1893) 1894
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Inishbofin

There is another cross in the church which is of much finer workmanship, and is probably the true *Leac Leo*. In 1870, when Mr. Kinahan visited the island, the church was in ruins, and was used as a cattle pen, and the cross, or a stone coffin lid, he is not at this time able to say which, was set up on its side, leaving a space between it and the wall to form a trough. 172 [231]

(3.) *St Leo's Cave* (*Uaimh Leo*), on the south side of the island.

(4.) *Thobhar Leo.*—St. Leo's Well is situated, not in the cave, but some distance from the top of a deep and almost precipitous cove, called *Fuath Leo*.

(5.) *Cloghan Leo* is a small round cell, now almost completely ruinous, built within an enclosure of very little larger area. The saint's footprint is pointed out in the rock on which the building stands.

VII.—HISTORY.

As a Paper of this nature would be incomplete without some mention of the changes and vicissitudes that the population of the islands has undergone, a slight historical sketch is attempted here. It is not, and does not pretend to be, complete, as unfortunately the material available is very scanty, especially in regard to its earlier history; for, though the Venerable Bede, the Four Masters, and others make several references to the islands, yet these nearly all relate to ecclesiastical events, which have at most only a secondary bearing on the history of the people, and are not within the scope of this Paper. 175

The annalists record that in the second century a tribe of the Firbolgs (Clann Humoir) who occupied that part of the mainland opposite the islands were conquered and enslaved by Tuathal Teachtmar, a Scotic or Milesian monarch, and it is probable, if the islands were inhabited by members of the first-named people, that they shared the same fate as the rest of their tribe. It is not known whether such was the case, as this is "the only mention of this teritory while in the hands of the Belgae," says O'Donovan in his "Letters," except that one of their chiefs named Modh, or Modha, gave his name to Inis Modha, or the Clew Bay islands. After the conquest of the Clann Humoir the territory came into the hands of the Milesians, and the records about it relate, at first, to the deaths of their chiefs, and later on in the 9th century to the incursions of pirates (believed to have been Scandinavians), but make no specific mention of Inishbofin or its inhabitants.

11: Browne D-5 (1894) 1895
ER6 Rural Irish ER6
Kilmore

his death to his interference with this figure. An Inishkea man spoke about the matter with much indignation even after the lapse of years, and said that they had never known misfortune or hunger in the island until after the distruction of this *neewoge*. 778

Many different accounts have been given of the image itself. One writer (C. O.) states that it was a stone figure of rude workmanship, and that it was dressed in a suit of homespun, renewed every year.

The description given by those who have seen it agree in stating that it was not a statue but a small flat stone. One informant believed it to be part of the head of a stone figure. This was enveloped in a small bag of homespun, which was replaced when it got old and soiled, and was kept in a blind window or recess in the wall in one of the houses.

St. Brendan and the Devil.—During my visit to Inishglora some of the Inishkea fishermen, who were camped there at the time, pointed out that no grass grew on a part of the island, and gave the following explanation:—St. Brendan was one day disturbed in his devotions by the devil, who appeared to him in the form of a beautiful girl and tempted him. The saint indignantly repulsed the temptress, and drove her towards the end of the island, blessing the soil as he went, but at the point where the grass ends, Satan changed his form and assumed the shape of a ram, which so astonished the saint that in his excitement he ceased blessing and gave chase to the evil one who ran to the rocks and jumped into the sea. The unblessed land is that on which the grass does not grow. 776

VI. ARCHÆOLOGY.

The few notes made in this section do not purport to be fully descriptive, but merely to indicate the nature of the antiquities of the region, which are of importance in the study of the people as bearing on the history of their past, and to direct the attention of archaeologists to the quantity of material worthy of study and record which is still to be met with in this part of county Mayo. 172 178

1. *Survivals.*—The district is comparatively rich in these, though many articles in use in the localities previously reported on are now quite extinct in Erris. The primitive condition of many of the houses, the absence of chimneys, and the custom of taking cattle into the dwellings have already been referred to. 178

The quern is still in use in several houses, especially on the islands and in the remoter localities, though now only employed for 178 412

11: Browne D-5 (1894) 1895
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178 grinding barley for cattle food, or in some few cases for malt for [412] *poteen*.

Hooped piggins are used in many houses, as also are sheepskin [415] sieves (*borans*).

178 The spinning-wheel for wool is of the usual Connaught type, without treadle, and is made in the district. The cards used for the wool 283 are imported, being all made in Dublin. The hand-looms are the same as used elsewhere in the West, and of rather rude construction, though capable of turning out good work.

287 A machine of rather primitive design is used for compressing cloth. It was made by its user, and has been working for many years.

373 Rush-lights are used in some houses, and in others the rude lamp already referred to, which is evidently merely a reproduction in tinware of the old stone or iron lamp for fish oil.

273 The stills employed by the makers of poteen are constructed of tin, and of simple but effective design. They are made in the owners houses by tinkers.

501 The curragh, of the usual form, is the boat most in use, and seems likely to hold its own. It is now covered with tarred canvas, but seventy years ago horse-skins were used for this purpose. A large stone is often used as an anchor for small boats.

172 2. *Antiquities* may be divided into two classes—(*a*) Architectural remains, and (*b*) Articles of use or ornament. (*a*) Architectural remains are still very numerous, though many of the most interesting have altogether disappeared; of these the most noticeable was the *Oileach*, the fortified seat of the chiefs of Hy-Fiachrach, which was situated at Elly in the Mullet, on or near the position of Bingham's Castle. Several castles belonging to the Barrets and Burkes have also been entirely destroyed.

Some of the ruins still remaining are of pagan origin, others are ecclesiastical structures. The principal pagan antiquities are the duns or forts, both stone and earthen, the monuments, &c. There are several duns, both within the district actually treated of in this Paper, and along the coast line of the surrounding country; those within the Mullet are *Dunnamoe*, a stone fort of large size, built on a rocky promontory overhanging the sea, and formerly one of the most perfect on this coast; of late years, however, it has suffered severely, the greater part of the wall has been broken down to afford building material for houses and walls about Belmullet; the guard-chambers mentioned by O'Donovan and others are now almost destroyed, the outworks thrown down. One part of the wall alone

11: Browne D-5 (1894) 1895
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is perfect, that overhanging the sea on the south side. Where the original wall-face shows it is like the forts of Aran, composed of blocks of stone, fitted neatly together without mortar; it is about ten feet high and eight feet in thickness. The ground in front of the wall was originally provided with a fosse and a wide belt of stone-stakes fixed upright in the earth, as in Dun Ængus on Inishmore, Aran; but all of these, with the exception of a few stumps, have now disappeared. A full description of this fort is given by O'Donovan in his MS. letters to the Ordnance Survey. The name of this fort, Dunnamoe, is now believed by the people to be *Dun-na-mbo*, or the fort of the cows, a name, the origin of which is stated in a MS. letter[1] by a Mr. Owen Heenaghan, of Emlybeg, in the Mullet, dated May, 1821. to be explained by the local tradition, that the cattle of the people were kept there at the time of the battle at Cross, to be afterwards referred to. O'Donovan, however, believed it to have been originally named *Dun Modha*, after Modha, a chief of the Clann Huamore, Belgae, who also gave his name to Inis Modha, or the Clew Bay Islands.

The other forts are *Dun Fiachra*, which consists of an earthen wall across the narrowest part of the neck of a long narrow peninsula, with precipitous coast, situated in the townland of Aghadoon; the remains of a stone doon, "Spinkadoon," of somewhat larger area, are situated a short distance to the north of this fort. *Dunadeary*, the fort of the red man, is also situated on the west coast of the Mullet. *Porth*, an earthen dun situated near the rectory, is barely traceable. *Dunavinalla*, a large fort, stands on a rocky height just outside the inlet of Portacloy.

There are several monuments of early date, the most remarkable of which is *Leacht var Erris*, the monument of the slaughter of Erris, near Cross, traditionally said to mark the sepulchre of a King of Munster, who was slain there in a battle with the people of Connaught. It is an irregularly pyramidal cairn, about fifteen feet in height; it lies within the remains of a nearly circular entrenchment; there are several such cairns in the neighbourhood, one of which, on being opened, was found to contain the skeleton of a man buried in the upright position. Leacht var Erris was for a long time buried beneath the sandhills, though its name and situation, and the history of the battle were still remembered by the people; but one night early in the present century a great storm blew off the sand

[1] This letter is pasted inside the cover of a copy of Knight's "Erris" in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy.

11: Browne D-5 (1894) 1895
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172 and left the monument exposed, as well as a wide space round it, which was strewed with human bones. There are also the remains of an ancient cemetery, containing many graves, or cists of stone flags in the sands of Cross; these tombs are arranged in groups of three, lying parallel to one another. C. O. states that the remains in these had been burnt, as the bones were charred; polished flat stones and fragments of rings of steatite were discovered in these graves. About half a mile to the southward is another stone tomb, known as *Leacht na Calliagh*, or the hag's monument.

Some of the ruins at Inisglora were considered by O'Donovan and others to have originally been the dwellings of the aboriginal inhabitants, the Damnonii, converted in after times to monastic use. These are, three *tor-thighs*, or bee-hive shaped houses, the largest *tor-thigh mor* being 10½ feet in diameter,[1] the other about 10 feet; an artificial cave, or *uaigh*, now closed up, said to communicate with some of the other buildings; and a *caisiol* or circular-walled enclosure containing these. It would appear to have been about fifty yards in diameter. In 1838 the foundations of about fifty-six yards of this *caisiol* were traceable.[2]

The Christian antiquities, though interesting to the archæologist, are of little importance in a survey of this nature, and consequently require but slight mention.[3] They consist of ruins of churches and monasteries, crosses and wells. On the mainland of the Mullet the ruins are not of any very ancient date, the oldest probably being St. Derible's Church at Fallmore, in the immediate neighbourhood of which are her grave and her "keeve" or vat, at which two "patrons" used to be held annually, which were abolished about 1825 owing to some disorders arising out of them.[4] The other remains are the Church of Tarmoncarra, of which only a small portion of the wall remains, and Cross Abbey, a structure of comparatively modern date, having been founded posterior to 1216. "By an inquisition taken, 27th Queen Elizabeth, this monastery was found in possession of three-quarters of land, with the tithes of the same each quarter being valued at 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling annually" (Knight, p. 111).

The ecclesiastical buildings on the islands are of earlier date, the

[1] This is now known to the people as "St. Brendan's Cell."
[2] O'Donovan, MS. letters.
[3] For information as to these, see Lord Dunraven's "Notes on Irish Architecture."
[4] This church is fully described and illustrated in Lord Dunraven's "Notes on Irish Architecture."

11: Browne D-5 (1894) 1895
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oldest probably being the small oratory of St. Brendan, on Inisglora, of dry stone, and measuring twelve feet by eight internally.[1] This building contains the remains of the wooden statute of St. Brendan, long famed on this coast; it used formerly be kissed by all visitors. and miraculous powers were imputed to it; now from exposure and damp it has been reduced to a shapeless lump of decayed wood; besides this there are two churches, *Teampull na-bfear*, the church of the men, 23 feet by 10 feet, and *Teampull na-mban*, the church of the women. There are also small enclosures, supposed to be the garden of the monastic settlement, in which garlic grows wild. The island was inhabited as late as 1616 by a monk named Walsh. On North Inishkea there is an old church which was dedicated to St. Columbkille; it has a doorway of the wedge shape, and is in fairly good preservation, the islanders being very scrupulous in the care of their antiquities.

On South Inishkea the foundations of a similar building may be traced. The holy wells are those of St. Derible on Inishkea and at Fallmore, and the celebrated well of St. Brendan on Inishglora; the belief in the antifeminine qualities of this well seem to have arisen from its being inside the bonds of the monastery. Finally, there are several ancient crosses, the most curious being the incised slabs of Inishkea and Duvillane; the others are the cross of Tarmoncarra referred to in a previous section, and the monumental stone near Fallmore, known as *Leacht Mic Maithin, Ioris*, after a native of that region, whose house was at that time the most western in Connaught; he does not seem to have been distinguished for anything else.

(*b*) There have of late years been many finds of antiquities consisting chiefly of articles of ecclesiastical use, mainly in North Inishkea. Mr. J. A. Nolan, of Belmullet, has obtained in the shell mounds on Inishkea a considerable number of pins and needles of bone, bronze, and copper; some of these are of curious workmanship. He also possesses the fragments of a bowl of composition with a jet edge, found by some of the islanders, who broke it up as being a "fairy bowl." An antique bell (bronze?) was found some time ago in the ruins of St. Columbkille's Church, North Inishkea, by Phillip Lavelle, king of the island, who preserved it.

Other objects of later date have been found—a chalice of the seventeenth century, on Inishkea, a pectorial cross and pyx of silver, dated 1669, some coins, &c.[2]

[1] The antiquities of Inishgluair are described in "Notes on Erris."

[2] Since the above was written several querns of smaller size than any now in use have been found in some of the duns.

13:Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1957
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VI

POTS AND PANS

323 415 STORIES of 'the crock of gold' remind us of the superstitions which have gathered around the humble unglazed vessels of baked clay used in prehistoric times for domestic and funerary purposes. The novel art of pot-making—the magic transformation of soft clay into indestructible pottery—must have made a deep impression on the native mind when introduced into Atlantic Europe from the Mediterranean region some forty centuries ago. It symbolized, too, a new way of life, for it accompanied the revolutionary arts of food-production and the establishment of settlements which were more or less permanently fixed to the soil. The possession of pottery greatly facilitates cooking and boiling and marks the beginning of the long line of peasant soups, stews and porridges. But primitive pottery does not stand up to hard use and the wastage was great—to the delight of archaeologists. For prolonged stewing metal vessels were preferable, and in Ireland 'the pot', in recent centuries, invariably refers to the three-legged iron cooking pot. Life revolves about the fire and the pot, and it was remarked during famine years that victims 'clung to the pot when all else had gone'.

● 172 For the archaeologist potsherds are an invaluable guide to changes of culture. Clay vessels had religious as well as domestic significance, and we know that as the Bronze Age advanced through the second millennium B.C. the domestic food vessel was adopted as a cinerary urn, and the deposition of cremated bones in urns continued in Ireland into the Christian era. Earlier, some of the megalithic cults had involved the offering to the dead of enormous quantities of broken pots. In

13:Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1957
ER6 Rural Irish ER6

a late Neolithic burial cairn at Lyles Hill near Belfast I found tens of thousands of potsherds which had been collected from domestic refuse and thrown into the cairn during the course of its erection.[1] The broken plates which may be seen exposed on the graves in some old burial-grounds in Co. Mayo are probably placed there in continuation of ancient practice. The breaking of pots is one of the elements in Hallowe'en pranks—one might almost say rites—and again we notice the association with the dead, for All-Hallows is the time when the dead are believed to return to their homes.

It would appear that by breaking a pot you broke its spirit; and by transference the power of the dead to do harm. Readers will recall the significant lines from *Hamlet*, referring to the suicide of Ophelia: 'Her death was doubtful . . . for charitable prayers, shards, flints and pebbles should be thrown on her.'[2] In some places in south-west England potsherds figure in the 'lent crocking' rites at Easter: like Easter eggs they are symbols of fertility. The association of fertility and decay, of life and death, comedy and tragedy, is clearly displayed in the wake games which are described in Chapter XX. This association, we note in passing, is ever-present in the mind of the Irish countryman, and the juxtaposition gives dramatic quality to the work of many Anglo-Irish playwrights.

This is not the place to enlarge on the technology of early pot-making, but it may be observed that the designs, fabric and finish of the Neolithic family of pottery in Ireland were far superior to those of succeeding periods: indeed it was not until wheel-made pots found local markets in the medieval towns that technically superior vessels were made in this country. In late prehistoric and early historic times the wealthy were able to import fine wares in small quantities from the continent, but the peasant homes over most of Ireland apparently did without pottery—the Gaelic word for potter is a loan-word—and vessels of wood, metal or leather did duty for the now universal imported 'delph'. The Dutchman, Gerard Boate, writing in 1645, said that 'the use of earthen vessels hath been very rare among them, and to the most part unknown even

[1] E. E. Evans, *Lyles Hill: a late Neolithic site in Co. Antrim*, H.M.S.O. (1953).
[2] *Hamlet*, Act V, Sc. 1.

13:Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1957
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were known as noggin weavers. Cheap delph has now taken the place of the noggin, but the word survives in a phrase I have heard applied to a child who is thriving on his food: 'he wants a stave out of his noggin'.

The art of pot-making declined and in many parts of the country almost disappeared after the late Bronze Age, when bronze cauldrons came in to provide serviceable cooking-vessels. Some archaeologists have related this decline to the climatic deterioration of the late Bronze Age, but it is more reasonable to associate it with an increase of pastoral pursuits and a diet of whitemeats. The bronze cauldrons were highly prized: from Gaelic literature we know that they were the special property of the head of the house and they seem to have taken on something of the magic of the early pots. They were sometimes credited with strange virtues such as the ability to yield to each guest the piece of flesh to which his rank or occupation entitled him, and they occupy a prominent place in folk-lore and legend.

It is interesting to notice that the bulk of the earliest prehistoric pots in Ireland are of plain brown burnished earthenware, faithful copies of the leather prototypes proper to a pastoral people. This western European Neolithic pottery is one of the indications of a common substratum in the early civilizations of Atlantic Europe. The round-bottomed vessels simulated round-bellied leather containers, which may well have continued to be used for cooking into historic times. We know that whole cow-hides were employed for the purpose in Elizabethan times. This is undoubtedly a survival of older custom: we find it among hunting peoples, for example the Indians of Labrador are in the habit of preparing broth in a vessel made from the belly of a caribou. A relic of the substitution of pots for skins may perhaps be seen in the persistent Irish belief that the money obtained from the sale of a cow-hide should be used for the purchase of a metal vessel. The Scots, as Froissart and Burt tell us, cooked their beef in skins stretched on four stakes. Fynes Moryson says of the Irish: 'Flesh they seethe in a hollow tree lapped in a raw cow's hide, and so set over the fire.'[1] From prehistoric times we have many ancient

[1]Fynes Moryson, *The Description of Ireland*, 228.

13:Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1957
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cooking places, which have been popularly known to Irish-speakers as *fulachta fiadha* (deer roasts), consisting of mounds of burnt stones usually set in marshy places. Excavations have shown that they contain dug-out trunks or plank-lined pits sunk in peat where water was heated by hot stones. Hundreds of these mounds are known in Cos. Cork and Kilkenny and they occur sporadically in other parts of the country, as also in Wales and more rarely in England and Scotland. Some Irish examples have been dated to the Bronze Age, though it is believed that their construction continued into the Middle Ages.[1] They are interpreted as the bivouacs of summer hunting parties, and would represent an archaic tradition preserved by the privileged classes, but they have their humble counterparts in the stone-lined pits filled with hot turf, in which, I have been told, peasants would cook their potatoes when working some distance from home.

FIG. 23. Cooking pots: round-bottomed suspension vessels through 4,000 years: Neolithic (earthenware); late Bronze Age (bronze); medieval (bronze); and modern (cast iron).

The essential continuity of form and function is strikingly demonstrated by a series of Irish cooking pots such as is illustrated in Fig. 23, from the round-bottomed Neolithic bowl with its suspension holes to the present-day globular iron pot with its twin lugs and its three stubby legs—a concession to a hard uneven floor. The three-legged pot is the countrywife's maid-of-all-work and it is only slowly giving way to flat-bottomed pans and kettles. The oven-pot also, a kind of Dutch oven, is widely utilized, and the pot-roasts which it cooks to perfection have replaced spit-roasted meat. It is said to get its other name, the bastible, from the fact that it was first made at

[1] M. J. O'Kelly, *J.R.S.A.I.*, 84 (1954), 105–55.

13:Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1957
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351 417 the farmyard tends to be a substantial construction. Where the farm is a survivor of a clachan, the small fields near the house, little more than gardens in size, are surrounded by massive winding walls attractive to the eye and always worth examining. Over rough ground they pick their way erratically, incorporating great boulders which could not be moved and which, centuries ago perhaps, became the nuclei of smaller boulders cleared from the fields. Knotted tangles of walls ten or twelve feet thick have resulted, monumental relics of secular toil. Such walls may 351 record by their successive accretions periods of agricultural 417 activity through the ages (Fig. 34). When more stones are 172 removed from the fields they are added as an outer skin, and one can easily recognize the latest additions by the bleached unlichened nakedness of the stones. Archaeological material may be accidentally incorporated in the core of the wall. The wall-builders, too, apparently had a habit of thrusting into the crevices curiosities picked up when working in the fields or bits of abandoned tools, and I have occasionally found prehistoric polished stone axes which their finders had pushed into a wall. The core of the wall is likely to contain similar oddments and bits of pottery, so that the excavation of old walls can be quite profitable to the archaeologist. In Denmark it has been possible to date ancient field-walls to various periods stretching back into prehistory, mainly by means of the stray objects they contain.

In Ireland the clearest evidence for the antiquity of some field boundaries comes from the remains found buried under the bogs. Examples in Co. Londonderry have been described by Dr. Oliver Davies as consisting of irregularly piled stone slabs with standing stones set at intervals.[1] Some of these ancient walls, which country people in Ulster call Danish fences, seem to have enclosed large areas and appear from their contour-alignment to have been head-dykes, enclosing land once arable, but now overgrown with peat, and demarcating it from the rough outfield. I have seen examples both in Ulster and in Munster which are of massive dry-stone work tied to great standing stones set at fairly regular intervals. Often it is only the standing stones, deep-bedded by the builders, that remain to puzzle the archaeologist. A characteristic of these fences is that

[1] O. Davies, *U.J.A.*, 2 (1939), 61–65.

13:Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1957
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many of the stones are set vertically or diagonally.[1] Others of the same character, or equally massive earthen banks, may be observed to radiate from some of the raths or 'Danish forts' which we now know to have been farmsteads of the Dark Ages and, since they seem to have been single farms held in severalty, the enclosures which they presuppose are likely to be co-eval with the raths. Indeed Professor O'Riordain has claimed that the existing earthen field fences around the group of raths at Cush in Co. Limerick closely follow those of the late Bronze Age which were 'essentially similar' . . . 'the present-day field system is the direct descendant of the ancient one'.[2]

Much smaller and more irregular are the walls one sees associated with areas of megalithic settlement, though this may be because of their great age. Indeed one example recently discovered during the excavation of a megalithic tomb in Co. Down, which was older than the construction of the cairn and partly preserved by it, was built in coursed dry-stone work.[3] We have as yet little information to draw on but it seems likely that these oldest walls were mainly the result of the casual piling-up of stones cleared from little patches of cultivated ground. Some of the great walls associated with clachans and referred to above may well be built on the foundations of such lines of stones pitched around and between bedded boulders which could not be moved. Yet the size of some of the stones built into these ancient walls is astonishing. I have watched a loose-limbed farmer, who seemed to inherit the physical characters as well as the skills of the megalith builders, handle with superb ease great boulders which one would think it beyond human power to move. A stout timber or iron bar and a sturdy slipe (Chapter XIII) are the tools used. Alternatively boulders may be buried *in situ* if there is sufficient depth of soil, but until recently there was a reluctance, for superstitious reasons, to break up large stones. I have not come across the old miners' practice of cracking stones with fire,[4] and except near towns or quarries the splitting of field stones by means of wedges, 'plug

[1] O. Davies, loc. cit., 62.
[2] S. P. O'Riordain, *P.R.I.A.*, 45 (1940), 83–181.
[3] A. E. P. Collins and D. M. Waterman, *Millin Bay, a late Neolithic Cairn in Co. Down*, H.M.S.O. (1955), 8.
[4] But A. Young (*Tour*, 2, 115) describes the process near Killarney in 1778.

13:Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1957
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IX

KILNS AND CLOCHAUNS

343 WHILE the timber building has almost entirely disappeared from the Irish scene, there survives an archaic
333 tradition of building in dry stone which is best illustrated in the humble structures erected for special purposes in or adjacent to the farmyard. Since stonework has a much better chance of survival than timber it is possible, even without excavation, to trace the descent of some of these small buildings through the ages. They include corbelled animal houses (clochauns), corn-drying kilns, sweat-houses and turf-shelters. We shall consider also small outhouses of sods or wattles, including soot-houses and animal shelters. Some of these, reduced in scale and status, are the successors of buildings once erected for higher purposes.

172 The clochauns of south-western Ireland, corbelled stone struc-
343 tures, nowadays used mainly for keeping pigs or poultry, are indistinguishable from the monastic huts such as are found on the precipitous island of Skellig Michael off the coast of Co. Kerry. Similar stone huts accompany monastic settlements in other parts of Ireland—and also in the Hebrides and in islands off the coast of Brittany—and they have been preserved, thanks to their sanctity or their isolation, as examples of a mode of building which was common when Christianity reached the west. Some clochauns in the Dingle peninsula, Co. Kerry, have been erected within living memory, but we also know that this type of construction is far older than Christianity in Ireland, that it was already two millennia old when Christian converts adopted it for their dwellings and their oratories. It is probable that some of the megalith-builders lived in clochauns and that their magnificent corbelled tombs have alone survived because they

13:Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1957
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were buried under great cairns such as those at New Grange on the River Boyne. Clusters of ruined clochauns surrounded by old field walls litter the hillslopes of the Dingle peninsula near Fahan; but we can only guess at the age of these 'beehive farms'. Some of the large oval clochauns would give standing room to as many as sixty people. Many of the existing farms in the district have at least one round clochaun, used for keeping pigs or poultry or for storing milk or turf (Fig. 37).

In the Aran Islands both oval and circular stone-roofed buildings are to be seen, though most of them are ruined. O'Flaherty in the seventeenth century described them as being 'so ancient that nobody knows how long ago any of them was made'.[1] The oval houses measure up to 21 ft. by 12 ft. internally; they are rectangular inside and some have two opposite doors (Pl. 3). Smaller round huts are also known.[2] In north-eastern Ireland, too, in north Louth and south-east Down, both round and square clochauns have been constructed down to recent times for housing pigs and poultry: a few are still in use.[3] The corbelled pigsty is known also in Wales,[4] and has been recorded in Caithness and the Orkney Islands.[5] Very similar corbelled buildings attached to old farms on Dartmoor are said to have been used as ash houses, for holding the embers taken from the fire at night.[6] One example, now used as a chicken house, is described as a winnowing hut.

Other parts of western and southern Europe can show both ancient and recent examples of corbelled constructions, though most of them, in so far as such a timeless style can be dated, were probably erected within the last two or three centuries, and some of them are known to have been built within living memory. They are found, either in ruins or serving as shelters or as animal- and tool-houses, in south France, especially in and around the Central Plateau, in Spain, Portugal and Majorca, in the heel of Italy, in the western Balkans and in Crete, where the mountain dairies appear to be very similar to the stone

[1] R. O'Flaherty, *H'Iar Connaught* (1684), 68.
[2] Å. Campbell, *Folk-Liv*, 1938, 173–96; G. H. Kinahan, *P.R.I.A.*, 10, 25
[3] R. H. Buchanan, *U.J.A.*, 19 (1956), 92–112.
[4] I. C. Peate, *The Welsh House* (1944), 42.
[5] A. Mitchell, *The Past in the Present*, 71.
[6] *Trans. Plymouth Institute*, XVIII (1944), 34.

13:Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1957
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removing the sods over a rectangular area the turf is dug over to a spit's depth and worked into a slush with forks and bare feet, water being added if necessary. The slush is shovelled into box barrows and spread out to dry in a layer about nine inches thick. The process is repeated, a spit at a time, until the bottom of the bog or the water table is reached. After a few days, when the layer of black mud is hard enough to bear a man's weight, it is marked out in criss-cross grooves made with the edges of the hands, the bare-footed 'baker' or 'runner' walking backwards during the process and dipping his hands from time to time in water to clean them (Plate 10). The turf bricks marked out in this way are separated with a sharp spade, much as the Romans are said to have cut out their bricks, and they are then laid on end, footed, clamped and stacked in the ordinary way. Gerald Boate's description of the making of mud turf in the first half of the seventeenth century shows how little the methods have changed. 'They fall to the business, dividing it so among the labourers, that one part of them do dig out the earth, or rather the mud, and by spadesfull cast it on a heap, either by the side of the pit or somewhere within the same, where others stand, who very well work it, turning it to and fro, and then with their shovels fill it into certain wooden trays, amongst the English in Ireland peculiarly called lossels; the which being full, another part of the labourers draw the same, with great cords fastened to them, to some dry place within the bog . . . where having poured out the mud, they go back to fetch more, and so go to and fro all day long. On that dry place . . . sit certain women upon their knees, who mould the mud, using nothing else but their hands . . . the turf is fashioned flat and broad beneath, growing narrower towards the top; which being done, the turf is let lie upon the ground the space of a week or more . . . and being reasonably well dried, it is piled up in little heaps, leaving everywhere empty spaces between, that the air and the wind passing through them, they may dry the sooner.' He adds that two women moulders were sufficient to keep twenty men at work.[1]

From time to time the worker in the bogs comes across objects lost or buried there as the bog was growing, and we saw above

[1]G. Boate, *Ireland's Natural History* (1652), 155.

13:Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1957
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314 how these are used by the pollen-specialists to build up a bog
172 chronology. Some, like the magnificent gold ornaments of the Bronze Age, were deposited in the bogs, or in lakes where the bogs later grew, for magical purposes. Other objects were sometimes hidden in the hope of being recovered, and still others were thrown into a bog hole when they were worn out. All have been almost perfectly preserved by the peat, whether made of metal or organic material such as wood, leather or clothing. None of the discoveries which occasionally astonish
314 the turf-cutter and relieve the monotony of his labours is more
172 mysterious than the 'bog butter' which is found in wooden
251 vessels or baskets, occasionally in containers of cloth, bark or skin, in quantities ranging from a few pounds to as much as a hundredweight (Fig. 65). During the first half of last century,

FIG. 65. Methers and wooden cups (Belfast Museum). The first example, from Co. Londonderry, contains bog butter. The cups are from the Aran Islands.

when the pressure of population and industrial needs led to immense inroads on the turf bogs, an astonishing number of finds was made. The 'butter' was a perquisite of the finder, and there are records of its being taken to the fair to be sold as grease for wheel-cars, which, like the 'singing carts' of Spain, were very noisy. In fact it resembles lard rather than butter and analysis shows that its composition has changed, but there can be no doubt that it was originally butter. There are many references to the practice of burying butter in bogs in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the explanations offered are also many. Petty thought it was done in order to

13:Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1957
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make the butter rancid, since the Irish, he says, preferred strong butter.[1] An eighteenth century writer states that some of the buried butter was

> So strong, a dog with help of wind,
> By scenting out, with ease might find.[2]

Others have claimed that it was buried to mature and purify it, and one writer has seen an explanation in the need to have butter available at Lent. It is reasonable to suppose that the surplus butter of summer would be stored in this way once the preservative properties of peat were known, but the practice is certainly pre-Christian in origin. None of the Irish finds has been securely dated—the majority of the wooden containers have an ageless 'medieval' appearance—but a discovery in Skye was satisfactorily dated to the very beginning of the Christian era (it contained not only cowhairs but some strands from the head of a fair-haired dairymaid).[3] I am inclined to think that a practice which came to be generally adopted for utilitarian reasons had its origin in magic, and that deposits were originally made in the hope of appeasing the powers of evil and inducing an abundant flow of milk from the pastures.[4] The custom may well have originated during the crisis of the climatic deterioration in the last centuries of the pre-Christian era. Surviving folklore is full of the magic properties of butter, and in the west of Ireland it is known that lumps of butter were thrown into loughs and springs through which cattle were driven in order to restore them to health. It seems from the accounts of discoveries in the bogs that some of the butter containers had been thrown into a bog hole rather than buried. Later, no doubt, it became the practice to bury butter in order to preserve it, but if this had always been so I cannot think that there would have been so many unclaimed deposits left to await the slane of the turf-cutter. It should be noticed that the custom of preserving butter in bogs or in moist earth is found also in Scandinavia, Iceland, India and Morocco.[5] It is interesting that bog butter

[1] Sir W. Petty, *The Political Anatomy of Ireland*, 82.
[2] W(illiam) M(offatt), *The Western Isle*, Canto 2.
[3] J. Ritchie, *P.S.A.S.*, 75, 5–22.
[4] E. E. Evans, *U.J.A.*, 10, 59–65.
[5] ibid., 59.

13:Evans K-5. (ca. 1940) 1957
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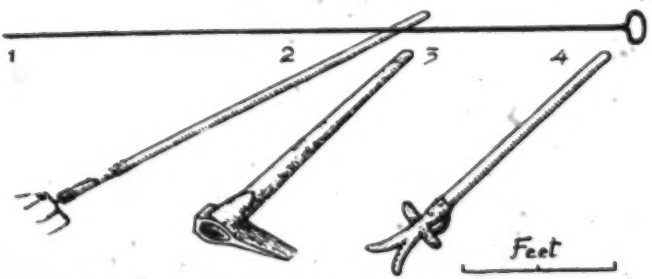

FIG. 66. Some tools used in the bog. (1) Trying iron for locating buried timber, Co. Cork. (2) Turf fork, Co. Armagh. (3) Fir-hatchet or 'finhow', Co. Armagh. (4) Fir-rooter, Co. Galway.

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contains no salt, but the explanation may be that it was difficult to obtain and that its addition was not necessary when the butter was preserved by burying it. This is confirmed by the following quotation which shows also that the custom of preserving butter in a bog-hole was still remembered a generation ago in Co. Limerick. Lady Carbery writes: 'In their grandfather's time, butter, flavoured with wild garlic and unsalted (salt cost too much to buy except in small quantities) used to be put in a bog-hole and left to ripen.'[1]

[1]M. Carbery, *The Farm by Lough Gur*, 128.

13:Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1957
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come across surviving examples of these ancient devices. The iron 'cribs' associated with modern salmon weirs, however, appear to derive from wattled traps. And the long conical 'coghill' nets in which the eels are caught in the weirs of the Bann, the Shannon and (until recently) the Erne, are shaped like weels and indeed they are sometimes built up of a series of cones. The fine meshed 'tail' of the net is made to open and the eels, nowadays, are poured directly into submerged tanks. A detail suggestive of long custom is that the 'skiver' with which the tail is closed in the coghills of the weirs at Portna on the Bann consists of a perforated rib-bone of horse or cow. The pin is attached to a cord, which is wound round the end of the net and secured by thrusting the pin into the windings. The walls of the weirs are often still built of wattles, and the old style of weir on the Erne consists of a base of large stones into which the wattled superstructure is thrust.[1]

The wattles are known on the Bann as *skeaghs*: of the six weirs now fishing there four are of the traditional type and two have been modernized. At Athlone on the Shannon there were twenty-two eel weirs in the early seventeenth century, and nearly all were still working in the nineteenth century: a single weir is now fished there.[2] The eel weirs of the River Erne had been reduced to five when they were abandoned owing to the recent construction of a dam for the Ballyshannon hydro-electric scheme. The Bann silver eel fisheries are probably the largest of their kind in western Europe, and it is significant that the Bann is one of the richest rivers in Europe for archaeological discoveries ranging in date from the Mesolithic to the early medieval period. Both salmon and eels have now become money-crops and the catches are exported. Already in the eighteenth century Irish salt salmon was exported in considerable quantities to America. The ice-house in which salmon used to be preserved is one of the many ruined buildings to be seen about the decaying houses of the gentry, and most country houses also had their fish ponds.

Among the common folk eels are esteemed only by the folk who catch them, legally or otherwise, but they were formerly

[1] A. E. J. Went, *J.R.S.A.I.*, 75 (1945), 213–23.
[2] A. E. J. Went, *J.R.S.A.I.*, 80 (1950), 146–54.

13:Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1957
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and purchasing boards, it is still a powerful commercial and social force in the rest of Ireland. In fact the numbers of fairs have increased with the post-famine dominance of the cattle trade, though they have tended to be concentrated in fewer centres as many small fair-towns have been by-passed by improved means of communication. On the other hand the weekly markets have declined or disappeared, their place taken by shops which typically handle drinks as well as groceries, clothing as well as hardware. Thus the fair has retained and even strengthened its magnetic hold on the countryfolk, and though many of its subsidiary functions have been taken over by institutions of more recent origin, the fair itself retains a pagan aura. There is a widespread belief, by no means confined to Ireland, that fair days are always rainy days. This belief may well be justified by climatic averages, but I have heard it explained as a consequence of the lies and profanity, the fights and pagan ways of the fair. Many an ancient fair has become extinct, no doubt because it no longer fulfilled its economic functions, but the explanation usually given is that it was abandoned 'on account of the fighting'.

In Europe, north of the Alpine mountains, the fair as a means of exchange and social intercourse is an institution older than the town, and older far than Christianity. The periodic assemblies of early Celtic Ireland served as temporary towns, and it was probably these sites which Ptolemy marked as cities on his map of the second century A.D. They were held on hill-tops hallowed by an antiquity which archaeology has in some instances traced back to the Bronze Age, and the regions which they served were, we have suggested, already taking shape in the late Neolithic period. Ireland has a number of large enclosures of Neolithic date analogous to Windmill Hill in Wiltshire, which apparently functioned as seasonal meeting places where stock was rounded-up and sorted. An enclosure of rather different type but of similar age—the Giant's Ring near Belfast—was the scene of horse-racing down to recent centuries. On the cairn-crowned Cave Hill, too, overlooking Belfast, crowds used to assemble on Easter Monday 'in accordance with immemorial usage'.[1] We may see in the 'parles

[1] J. B. Doyle, *Tours in Ulster* (1855), 102.

13:Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1957
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WEDDINGS AND WAKES

The Irish birthrate remains high, and despite delayed marriages the population would continue to increase were it not for emigration, latterly to Britain instead of America. Moreover, sterility is still regarded as a disgrace, and superstitious practices find one of their last pathetic appeals in attempts to be cured of 'the sterile curse'. Among a peasant people a childless marriage is an economic and social tragedy. There is some evidence that, in the north of Ireland at least, trial marriage or bed-fellowship (bundling), as in Wales, the Hebrides, Norway and Holland was an accepted preliminary of marriage and a means to which the fertility of a prospective partner was tested. The reliability of the notorious Richard Twiss as a witness may be impugned, but in this instance his account of the custom in Co. Fermanagh is likely to be true[1] since there are living traditions of trial marriages in Counties Antrim and Londonderry.

For the most part, these immemorial attitudes did not survive the crisis of the famine and the watchfulness of a now well-organized priesthood. The fertility rites of wakes for the dead and the unashamed courtships which were carried on at patterns and at the great seasonal festivals find a plausible explanation in the fact that they occurred at times and places where the spirits of the dead were waiting to be reborn. The gatherings at hill-top burial places attested by tradition and the legendary histories were similarly drawn together by the pull of ancestral spirits. The name Dermot and Grania's Bed which is applied to many megalithic graves gives these ancient monuments a reputation which is evident in a belief recorded by Hely Dutton in Co. Clare early in the last century: 'If a woman proves barren, a visit with her husband to Dermot and Grania's Bed certainly cures her.'[2] And the Saints' Beds associated with many ancient church sites have taken over some of the megalithic magic, for they have the power of curing of barrenness a woman who spends the night there.

If the youthful marriages of pre-famine days seem far removed from the carefully arranged matches of the present-day peasantry, it should not be concluded that they were casual and

[1] R. Twiss, *A Tour in Ireland in 1755*, 103.
[2] H. Dutton, *Clare*, 318.

13:Evans K-5 (ca. 1940) 1957
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newly-calved cow should be milked on to a piece of metal placed in the pail. Offerings of the 'beastlings' were poured in the raths and at the roots of fairy thorns, to appease the fairies. When taking a drink out of doors, the old countryman will casually spill a portion of the draught on the earth as a complimentary libation to the good people. 'When a cow fell sick through fairy malice, it was formerly by no means an uncommon practice, in the west of Ireland, to devote the ailing animal to St. Martin. The ceremony was performed by letting a few drops of blood from the cow in honour of the saint.'[1] Cows which, for no apparent reason, are not thriving are said to be elf-shot. The elf-stones or fairy-darts which are supposed to have caused the mischief are prehistoric flint arrowheads such as can be picked up in the fields. One of the tricks of the cow-doctor who is called in, and who keeps a few arrowheads handy, is to produce one by sleight of hand from the flank of the ailing beast. Or counter-magic can be worked by means of a flint arrowhead which must not be allowed to touch the ground after it has been found. The cow-doctor uses sympathetic magic in curing calves believed to be suffering from intestinal knots by drawing apart over the animal's back the loose ends of a string tied in a complicated witch-knot or 'bat', of the type which comes undone when pulled. But as always he must work the magic correctly, for if the knot is not resolved another one is tied inside the calf.

Hanging in the byre one sometimes sees a flint pebble suspended on a string through a natural hole. It is a witch-stone, protecting the cows from milk-stealers, and it may owe its virtue to the flint or to its symbolic ever-watching eye. In the Ardenne a holed flint hung in the stable is believed to preserve the horses from nightmares,[2] and nearer home in the Yorkshire dales holed stones known as ring-stones protected the cows from the evil eye. 'Blessings on all that I can see' is the traditional formula to use when one enters a byre. An ill-disposed person could, merely by looking at it, 'blink' a cow so that its milk would yield no butter. The cow could be cured by burning under its nose a portion of the blinker's clothes

[1] Wood-Martin, *Elder Faiths*, 2, 6.
[2] H. H. Turney-High, *Ch'teau-Gérrad* 53(19), 232.

14: Westropp B-4, 5 (no date)1910-12
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103 173 banshees (see below). Knockaunamoughilly is named from a "Boughil," and other "sham men" appear at the Farbreagas in Cloontra and Cloongaheen. Seefin in Kilseily is another "seat of Finn." Some names are more doubtful. Lough Graney, the river Graney, and Tomgraney, are attributed to a suspicious solar heroine, the lady "Gillagreine" or "Grainne of the bright cheeks."

II. *Banshees.*

173 776 133 172 Above the Shannon gorge, overlooking a beautiful mass of mountains, the southern arm of Lough Derg, and the river and Killaloe with its weirs, rises the great brown and purple bluff of Craglea. Above the low earthworks and mound of stones that mark the ninth-century fort of Prince Lachtna ascends a rough lane. Further up on the east flank a little well, Tobereevul, gushes out from under a low rock amid the ferns,[19] and on the west side,—up a lonely valley, a long-forgotten battlefield, "Crag Liath where shields were cleft," in one of Brian Boru's earlier combats with the Norsemen,—rises a high crag called Craganeevul. The names of both well and crag commemorate the tutelary spirit of the House of Cass, Aibhill or, more correctly, Aibhinn, "the lovely one," once, it may be, the goddess of the House.

175 776 On Good Friday, A.D. 1014, Brian, the aged monarch of all Erin, knelt in his tent praying for victory, while the battle raged over the low ridge now crowded by the houses of northern Dublin and on to the weirs of Clontarf. News came that his brave son's standard had fallen, and his page entreated him to ride back to the camp. "Oh, God! thou boy," cried Brian, "retreat becomes us not, and I myself know that I shall not depart alive, for Aibhill of Crag Liath came to me last night, and she told me that I should be killed today."[20] How many centuries of faith lay behind the king's fatalism, who can say? As the Gauls worshipped another banshee, Catabodva,

[19] It still exists, though marked only "site of" in the new Ordnance Survey maps.

[20] *Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* (Ed. Dr. Todd, Rolls Series).

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A Folklore Survey of County Clare (*concluded*).

XX. *Earthworks and Buildings.*

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Fairy forts and mounds have been dealt with in Section iv., haunted houses in Section viii., and foundation sacrifices in Section xi.

Forts.—The ring walls and mounds in County Clare are probably residential, or, more rarely, sepulchral, but certainly not military. They consist of one or more walls (or banks), usually slightly oval, and the earthworks have fosses and traces of stone facing. They are named *dun*, *lis*, *rath*, and even *caher* (*cathair*), but the last name is usually reserved for the dry stone ring walls. *Ooan* (*uamh*) is used both for forts and for artificial caves in them, and also, for a fort-souterain, in 1317 in the *Cathreim Thoirdhealbhaigh* (History of the Wars of the O'Briens and de Clares). The country people have no limited views as to the makers of the 2400 forts in Clare. Croaghateeaun near Ballinalacken is attributed to the ancient deities, the Danánn, and one should cross oneself in entering its garth.[1] Mohernagartan and Mohernaglasha were made by the smith god Lon,—the latter for the grey "cloud and rain cow," the Glas. Oisin the poet lived in Caherussheen near Corofin, and the great stone fort on Turlough Hill probably belonged to the "Irish Militia" (Finn's warriors). Chonan, one of Finn's men, dwelt in the now levelled fort on Keentlae (*cnann tsleibh*) on Inchiquin Hill.[2] Three contemporaries, Crochaun (lumped hill), Dahlin, and Sall (the brine), made the forts bearing their names at Loop Head, and one at Cahernaheanmná near them for their sister the beloved of the hero Dermot O'Duine.[3] Oircheannaigh "of the golden cap" made the vast triple Moghane for his "fighting ring."[4] A giant dwelt in the promontory fort of Doonaunmore at Ballinahown who lost his magic staff and was

[1] *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxxv., p. 345.

[2] "*Fris tighe chonain.*"

[3] *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxxviii., p. 351.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. xxiii., p. 281; *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxvii., pp. 218 *et seq.*

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slain.[5] Another Fhir mór (or huge man) was hunted from Cahermurphy stone fort to Kiltumper, where he was slain and buried.[6] Caherdooneerish was in the tenth century reputed to have been made by Irgus, a Firbolg, at the beginning of our era; it was wrongly attributed by scholars to Fergus, son of Roigh, but the peasantry never abandoned the name of the brother of Aenghus of Dun Aengusa in Aran.

Unlike some old schools of antiquaries, the people did not overlook the later origin of some forts, for they attributed the Grianan and Bealboruma to King Brian Boru (*c.* 1000), the former to defend his horse-paddock (*parc an each*) on the shoulder of Craglea. The fort of Lisnagry, in the heart of the hills near Broadford, was reputed to be the hiding-place of the great king's cattle from the Danes. King Croohoore (Conor) na Siudaine O'Brien (slain 1267) was said to have built Dunconor, the great stone fort in Inishere Aran which MacLiag's poem (*c.* 1000) attributes to Conchraid the Firbolg. The same king, we may note, executed the latest earthworks of a fort recorded in Clare history, at Clonroad, completing the royal *rath* commenced by his father and left unfinished in 1241. Some rebuilding of Dun Conor may quite conceivably have been undertaken in his reign.

To the fairy forts previously mentioned should be added Lissateeaun, near Lisdoonvarna. The people of Tulla had an observance by which the instigator of the destruction of a fort assumed the blame and freed the workman.

Churches.—The church of Clonlea once stood at the opposite side of the lake, near St. Senan's well in Killaneena, whence one night it travelled down the old lane that runs into the lake, passed under the water, and reached its present site. King Conor na Siudaine built Corcomroe Abbey, and, as soon as his five skilled masons had completed the beautiful chancel and chapels, he put them to death lest they should build a rival masterpiece elsewhere. This legend is now being transferred through modern guide-books, the careless compilation of which is a great source of corruption of our legends, to Donald O'Brien, the actual, but not traditional,

[5] *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxxv., p. 346.

[6] *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Co. Clare), vol. i., p. 205.

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son-in-law the King of Leinster. Others connected Killone with Clare Abbey, and Quin Abbey with St. Finghin's church at the other side of the "Rine."

XXI. *Miscellanea and Addenda.*

Treasure legends and hunting.—Many forts have been much defaced by persons seeking treasure, though treasure legends are few. Caherscrebeen, near Lemeneagh castle (the Caherscribnib of 1551),[14] is said to be the richest fort in Ireland, having three rooms full respectively "of gold, deer's tallow, and *beor lochlanagh*" or Dane's beer (made by a lost recipe from heather and "the finest of all drinks").[15] Treasure-hunting is, so far as I have learned, in nearly every case in consequence of a dream, especially of a dream repeated more than once. No particular ceremony seems to have been used. The dreamer went, usually by night and sometimes alone or sometimes with a few friends, to the spot indicated, and dug until tired and hope of success was lost. Most of the damage done to stone forts and castles results, in the former from rabbit hunters, and in the latter from people getting material for other buildings. Silver (money) is believed to be buried in the mound of Lismehane castle, and near the curiously scribed rock of Cloch-an-airgid (rock of the silver) near Bohneill castle. I have seen in the field within Dunlicka castle,[16] near Kilkee, the holes made by a seeker who was told to dig where he saw a rush growing. "The great Clare gold find" in 1845, near Moghane fort, enriched archaeology rather than folklore. But the finders in some cases believed it to be fairy gold, and the people of Newmarket-on-Fergus tell that those who got it, with one exception, did not profit by it; the one lucky exception did not find his prosperity permanent. The only interesting treasure tale I have found is that of the townland of Skaghvickencrow (MacEnchroe's hawthorn), told by Dr. G. U.

[14] In the will of the last recognised King of Thomond, Murrogh, Earl of Thomond.

[15] *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxvi., p. 368.

[16] See also vol. xxi., p. 344.

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16:Messenger E-4,5 (1955-1966) 1969 ER6 Rural Irish ER6
(1959-1960) Inis Beag

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The Island and Its Past

Prehistoric Period (9000 B.C. to 500 A.D.)

133 FORMED SINCE THE RETREAT over 12,000 years ago of the Weichsel glacier, Inis Beag consists of a block of limestone, Carboniferous in age, the geological axis of which is aligned northwest to southeast. The block has a gentle southwest dip, and its massive grey limestone strata are separated by narrow bands of water-bearing shales. There are two physical subdivisions in the island. On the northeast side, differential erosion has formed a series of terraces 133 separated by small cliffs a dozen or so feet in height. The greater share of good 134 arable land is found in this subdivision, where the shales have been broken down by weathering and alien soils deposited by wind and ice. These soils have been deepened artificially by the islanders through adding sand, seaweed, and compost. On the southwest side of Inis Beag is a more even surface, composed largely of pavement covered here and there by indigenous and manufactured soils, sloping from the 212-feet-high terrace crest almost as the dip of the strata to the Atlantic coast. The bare limestone surfaces are intersected in all directions by deep crevices, and in places the rocks form large slabs or are so fissured as to present a series of 133 vertical ridges. Found in the joints are most of the natural flora—herbs and shrubs [134]—of the island. The rocky appearance of the "back of the island" (see Fig. 1), as the people call this second subdivision, is accentuated by numerous granite and sandstone erratics dropped by the retreating glacier.

• 172 As yet no evidence of the Paleolithic has come to light in Ireland. The Mesolithic is dated from 6500 to 3000 B.C.; thus early man may have entered Ireland hard on the heels of the disappearing ice, as he did in other parts of Europe, crossing from the Continent on land bridges which then existed where the English Channel and Irish Sea now flow. A Neolithic period lasting only 1000 years existed in Ireland, and its artifacts at particular sites show a merging with earlier Mesolithic and later Copper-Bronze Age forms. Inis Beag contains a profusion of Copper-Bronze Age remnants, created before the coming of the Celts

16:Messenger E-4,5 (1955-1966) 1969 ER6 Rural Irish ER6
(1959-1960) Inis Beag

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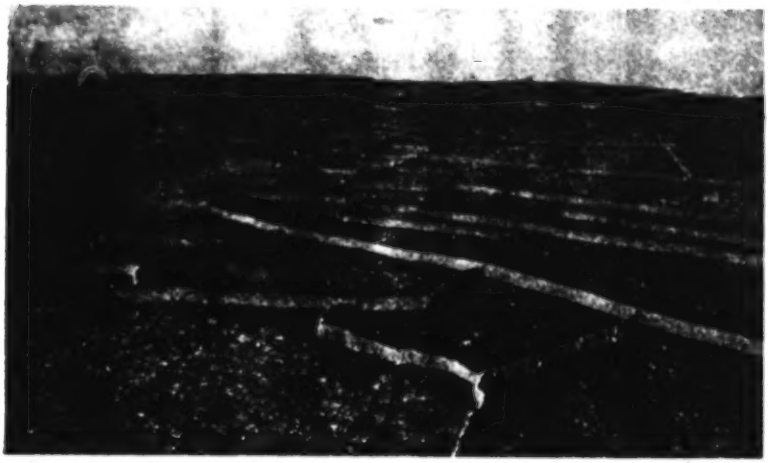

Figure 1. The back of the island from the lighthouse

with an Iron Age culture about 350 B.C.; but only in 1961 were earlier Neolithic, or possibly Mesolithic, implements discovered. When my wife and I arrived in the island for a seven week visit during the summer of 1962, we were presented with three slate axe heads which had been unearthed by road workers the previous December. It is possible that they are Mesolithic, for the industry never has been dated accurately.

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The principal Copper-Bronze Age monuments of Inis Beag are Megalithic tombs and burial mounds, and possibly kitchen middens and semi-subterranean stone dwellings, called *clochán*. Small gallery graves incorporated into lately built stone walls are common, but it appears that they never have been examined by prehistorians, for there is no record of them in the literature. Archeologists seldom have visited the back of the island where the prehistoric and medieval populations, contrary to present day opinion, may have centered. None of the Inis Beag *clochán* have been dated, but it is known that they were lived in by clerics and ascetics during the Middle Ages, and were still used as living quarters in a nearby island early last century. It is as difficult to ascertain the age of burial mounds and middens in Ireland as it is of stone houses, because they too were formed over several historical periods. Burial mounds of earth and stone, termed respectively tumuli and cairns by archeologists, first were erected during the Copper-Bronze Age and continued to be built into the early modern period (although not for funerary purposes). There are numerous mounds in Inis Beag, but in many instances it is hard to distinguish on sight cairns from *clochán* in their ruinous, overgrown condition. The islanders regard both types of structures as burial sites. Middens can be dated from the Mesolithic to the end of the medieval era. Most of the island middens are associated with dwelling places from the Middle Ages, but those located near the mouths of caves in the limestone cliffs of the terraces

[814]

16:Messenger E-4,5 (1955-1966) 1969 ER6 Rural Irish ER6
(1959-1960) Inis Beag

172 may be much older. I was told that foreign collectors long ago purchased from the folk copper and bronze artifacts which had been exhumed from cave middens.

172 333 The Iron Age in Inis Beag is best represented by a fort constructed of limestone rocks quarried locally and fitted together without mortar, which bears no name other than the Irish word for fort—*Dún* (see Fig. 2). It commands the rim of a promontory, and its oval shape measures 170 by 127 feet. Unfortunately, from the point of view of the prehistorian, its inner wall was greately reduced in height and any outer ramparts and stone *chevaux de frise* completely destroyed to furnish building materials for a medieval tower house which stands at its center. To the south about 500 feet, and on somewhat higher ground, are the remains of what may have been a monastery. According to island historians, it was pulled down by soldiers attacking the "castle" with cannons, and most of its stones were employed later in the construction of a watch tower nearby. Another monastery at the back of the island on the southeast side may indeed be the ruins of a fort, as the oldest of its three names bears the word fort.

Medieval Period (500 to 1500)

17 The end of the Iron Age in Ireland is dated conveniently by historians as 431 (or 462), when St. Patrick arrived from Wales as a missionary to convert the pagan Celts. But, of course, prehistoric cultural elements persisted for many cen-

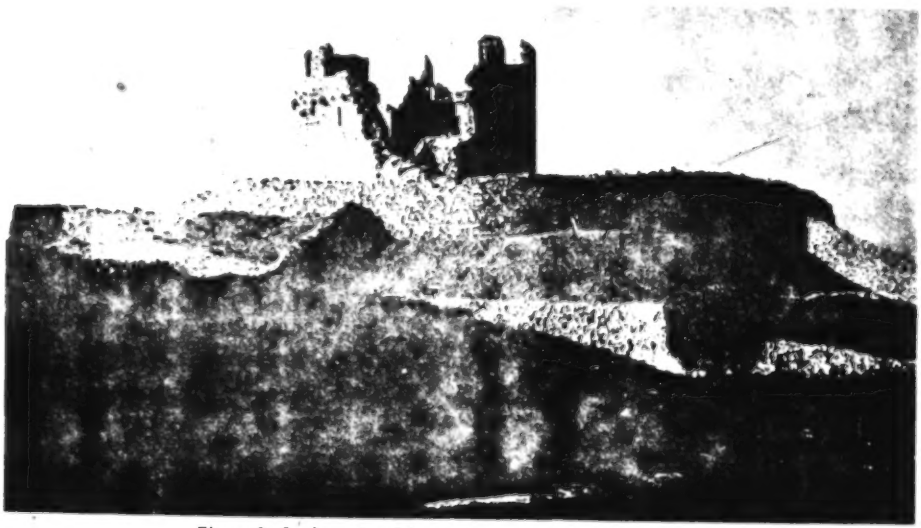

Figure 2. Castle enclosed by the Iron Age promontory fort

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(1959-1960) Inis Beag

turies afterward, and still do in modified form, and became embodied in the medieval culture which was shaped by internal innovation and borrowing from other European traditions. Christianity came to Inis Beag in the early decades of the sixth century. Inis Beag and the other islands in the vicinity became one of the famous monastic centers of Ireland, where over a hundred saints lived or paid extended visits. Among them were St. Enda of the Aran Islands, St. Columbkille who was to Christianize Scotland and much of England, St. Kieran the founder of Clonmacnoise, St. Brendan the Navigator who according to Irish legend reached the coast of Florida in 551, and St. Kevin the founder of Glendalough. Among the principal medieval Christian monuments in Inis Beag are three churches, one and possibly two monasteries, several tombs, and a sacred well.

Only a single female saint is associated with Inis Beag, and a church in her honor stands on the northwest side of the island. Although not the first church on the site, the present building was erected not later than the ninth century, and west of its doorway under a cliff is the foundation of a *clochán* in which the officiating clergyman may have resided. South of the church are a number of ancient tombs, and in a small valley east of it a layer of midden lies beneath manufactured soil. The axe heads were unearthed in the valley only a stone's throw from the church.

Built in the tenth century to honor the patron saint of the island, a second church is located atop a terrace overlooking the beach on the northeast side of Inis Beag. It was used as the regular place of worship until about 1840, when sand began to accumulate about it: at that time, the island cemetery was on a slight hill west of the church, but as the sand grew deeper burials were made next to the church, eventually to form the present cemetery which rings the building almost completely. The tomb of the patron saint stands on the surface of the terrace a short distance from the church, but it and the building nearly to the top of its gables are buried in the sand (see Fig. 3). Each year on June 14th island men dig out the interior of the church and bare the tomb to commemorate the saint. A huge midden, partially covered with sand and solidified to a conglomerate below its surface, is banked against the terrace on the north and measures 20 feet in depth, 150 feet in width, and 450 feet in length. It represents the accumulation of hundreds of years, and possibly thousands if pagan structures antedated Christian ones.

A third church lies buried beneath the sand close to the east end of the beach, and is named after another saint who is believed to be interred near it. Only legend supports its existence, for there is no reference to its unencumbered appearance in the writings of the earliest visitors in the mid-seventeenth century. However, funeral processions bound from the present church to the cemetery leave the main trail to follow what is apparently an archaic predecessor deep in the sand, and at one point the coffin is lowered and the mourners kneel and pray for the soul of the deceased at the place where tradition asserts that the ancient church lies. This custom is disconcerting to the newly appointed or visiting priest, who sometimes when leading a funeral procession will continue on the modern path while the islanders desert him to obey a centuries old prescription.

On the west side of Inis Beag, near the shore, are located a holy well named after a saint and the *clochán* in which he supposedly dwelled during a lengthy stay

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Figure 4. Low Village and Inis Thiar from the castle

ing has obscured in most places the disconformities between strata. Four rift 133
valleys indent the terraces, and the eastern one runs the entire length of the island 311
to the ocean and holds a 90-feet-deep fresh water lake (see Fig. 7). This valley [361]
and two of the other three to the west of it running half the length of the island
form two promontories on the upper terraces of which the other villages are
situated. Indenting only the lower terraces, the fourth rift is a minor one; it forms [172]
the valley in which the axe heads were discovered. Wells are found in each of the
rift valleys where shale strata are bared. The four villages, from west to east, are
Low, High, Castle, and Terrace.

Located in Low Village (see Fig. 4) are two grocery stores, known as 361
"shops," and an old coast guard station, and in High Village are the post office 34
and church; other buildings of importance are the new school on the common
land and the lighthouse at the back of the island. I already have described the
monuments of historical significance so need not consider them further. The older 366
of the two shops in Inis Beag is situated at the southwest margin of the common
land, while the other stands close to the rocky shore at the north end of the com-
munity. Simply a large, narrow room on the ground floor of the two-story dwelling 366
of its owner, each shop also serves as a public house, or "pub," where wines, spirits, 276
beer, stout, soft drinks, and tobacco are sold. Benches along wall and counter serve
the customers who linger, and purchases are made across the counter or in a small
enclosed room near the door, called the "snug." The usual occupants of the shop
are men who come to drink, smoke, visit with their neighbors, and sometimes
purchase goods for their families. Women and children when buying provisions [443]
usually enter the snug for privacy and confer with the shopkeeper through an
aperture opening on the counter. At night, the snug allows small groups of men to [521]
discuss matters of a private nature over drinks.

Coast guard personnel first were assigned to Inis Beag shortly after the 000

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and its fate. In further mocking his fellows for their apprehensions about death and its aftermath, he proclaimed that the soul, "if there is such a thing, goes nowhere after the heart stops beating."

Celtic deities no longer are a part of the belief system of the islanders, but the culture heroes of the Iron Age—such as Cuchulainn, Finn, and Oisin—still are extolled in legends, and the promontory fort and other ancient monuments and some of the geographical features (for instance, glacial boulders) in Inis Beag and nearby islands are explained by the actions of Celtic heroes. Spirits, demons, and witches of many sorts are the supernatural beings from the Celtic, and possibly pre-Celtic, era which figure most importantly in the pagan segment of the folk religion. They have become incorporated into orthodox Catholicism by being declared "works of the Devil" by those who admit to their existence (It is said that two priests of peasant background have admitted to this belief publicly in Inis Beag.)—a reinterpretation resorted to by many primitive and folk peoples under the duress of acculturation with dominance. The spiritual entities most linked with the Irish, both in writings and in popular imagination, are the trooping and solitary fairies, known to the islanders as the "little people," "good people," or "gentry." In Inis Beag, only the leprechaun and "red man" among the numerous solitary fairies are known. William Butler Yeats numbers the banshee, mermaid, pookah, and water horse among the solitary fairies (Yeats ND :76–77), but these are not regarded as such by the folk (The latter two are animal spirits, or demons, rather than human spirits.); also found in Inis Beag are the sea spirit, or "headless body," and other minor spirits and demons.

Fairies seldom permit themselves to be seen, but most of the islanders have experienced their presence, if only through having objects mysteriously misplaced by them or hearing them sing and cobble. These beings differ considerably in appearance—according to type, sex, and age—but most of them are knee-high and wear green jackets, flat red caps, and buckled shoes. The trooping fairies live in *clochán* and thorn bushes and spend most of their time feasting, singing, dancing, fighting, playing games, and making love. A spirited hurling match played by fairies on the strand was described to me by an observer who had witnessed it from a canoe approaching the island; he and his mates rowed close enough to overhear the creatures call out to each other by name. Small whirlwinds are a sign of their passing, and a farmer who was haying and failed to say the proper "God bless them.", as such a wind stirred his field, was punished by having all of the cocks that he had accumulated blown away. One verse of my ballad, poorly received by most islanders, tells of men who were afraid to board the freighter for several nights after trooping fairies had been seen dining in the mess and a ghost pacing the deck. Fairies disregard human beings most of the time, but they can harm those who disregard or speak ill of them, as well as play "fairy pranks" out of sheer capriciousness. One of their favorite modes of attack is to cast "fairy darts" at their victims; on the mainland, these are prehistoric flint artifacts, but in Inis Beag they are any small pebbles supposedly thrown from the sky to cause bodily harm. An Inis Thiar man collected a number of darts allegedly cast at him by irate gentry, only to have the collection confiscated by the curate in whom he indiscreetly confided. The most feared practice of trooping fairies is that of steal-

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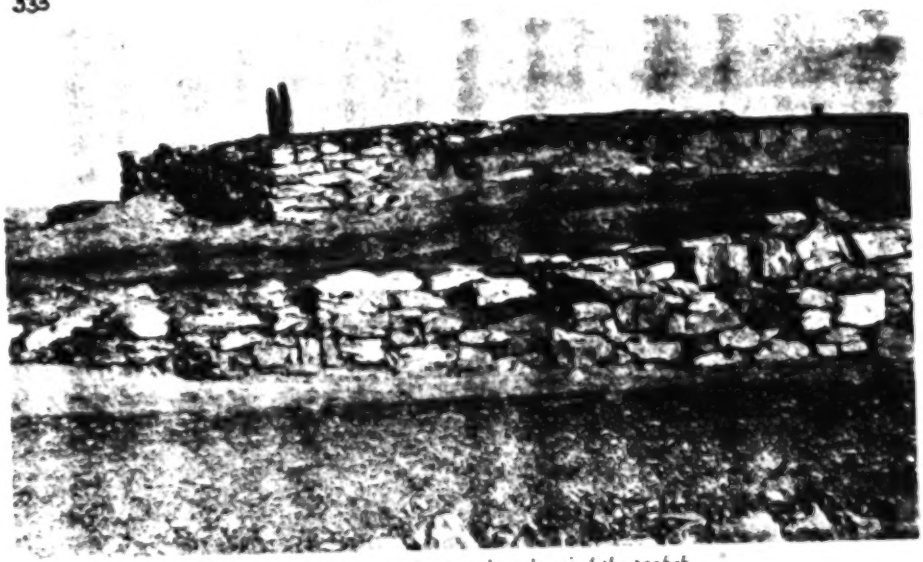

Figure 12. Copper-Bronze Age tumulus—home of the pookah

776 [171] black dog which roams the road by the Catholic church and cemetery in the village of St. Patrick, altering its size instantaneously (Messenger 1967:37–38).

754 178 Witchcraft once flourished in Inis Beag, so it is held, but today only the casting of the evil eye still is practiced. The most common witch of the past was an ugly old woman, called a "hag witch," who was native to Inis Beag or a transient nighttime intruder from nearby islands and the mainland. She was able to fly through the air swiftly, make herself invisible, assume any size or shape, enter the body of an animal, and perpetrate black magic. Her favorite animal familiar was the rabbit and her favorite target the cow, whose milk she purloined after 754 midnight from beasts pastured at the back of the island. Like the trooping fairies, 753 she too stole the souls of children and left ailing changelings in their stead. When 755 it was suspected by parents that a child was a changeling rather than their human 855 offspring, it was customary to throw it into the fireplace or burn the bedding on which it lay in order to retrieve the departed soul; if the perpetrator were a witch, she would leap from the flames with a "wild shriek" and vanish, leaving the restored child in perfect health in her place. I was told in Inis Thiar of islanders there who bear scars from being burned when their souls were rescued by this expediency.

754 [624] [576] Three Inis Beag persons are accused of possessing the evil eye and thus are shunned by their fellows. Such a witch is known by a disfigurement in or near his left eye, from which the malignant force emanates, and by his ability to cause